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ABSTRACT

One in a series of four histories of native Nevadans, this volume presents the story of the Northern Paiute people, or Numa, who lived, hunted, and travelled in the Great Basin area which occupies one-third of present day Nevada and parts of Oregon, Idaho, and California. Based on interviews with tribal elders and research conducted at numerous archives and record centers, the book begins with a description of the language, culture, and common practices linking the various Numa bands. Chapter two chronicles the influx of white men between 1820 and 1860 and the subsequent disruption and destruction of the traditional Numa way of life. Chapter three provides a detailed account of the Pyramid Lake War of 1860, the final battle between the whites and the Numa, following which the Numa were relegated to reservations and colonies. The final chapter contains eight sections, each devoted to a particular present day Numa reservation and the history of its population, beginning with the distinctive features of each group's original culture and reporting key events in each group's history to the present. Survival of cultural traditions, education, employment, housing, and tribal government are among the contemporary issues discussed. Maps, photographs and illustrations, footnotes, and a bibliography of over 100 entries are included. (JH)

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NUMA:
A Northern Paiute History

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Cover: Numa women carried their children in cradleboards which they called *hoop*. To form the frame, the Numa soaked and bent chokecherry branches. To make the backing and the hood, they soaked and scraped willows and then wove whole willows with split ones. They sewed buckskin on the *hoop* with sinew. The hood, which was not covered with skin, was decorated with designs which indicated the child's sex. Many different designs were used; generally, a girl's pattern had connecting lines while the elements in a boy's design did not touch each other. Usually the child's grandmother or another close relative made the *hoop* after the baby was born. The *hoop* was not prepared before the child's birth so that the child would be normal and would not grow up to be a trouble-maker. The child was securely wrapped in the *hoop;* even if the cradleboard fell over, the hood protected him from serious injury. Mothers wore the *hoop* on their backs, allowing the young children to see their environment without leaving a secure shelter.

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Introduction

The Northern Paiute people, whose story will be told here, call themselves *Numa,* or "The People." Until the early twentieth century, this name referred to them alone. In the early 1900's, however, the word came to describe not only the Northern Paiute people, but all Indians. Perhaps this expanded use of their name resulted from increased travel and communication: as the Numa contacted unfamiliar tribes, they may have shared their name with the strangers. The old people, who have given much information, remember the time when only their people used this name.

The Numa language belongs to a branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family. Although the language displays some local variations, members of different Numa bands have no difficulty understanding each other. North of the Numa were Klamath, Nez Perce, and Shoshone speakers; east, the Shoshone and Ute; south, the Southern Paiute; west, the Washo. The Numa had limited contact with these peoples, whose languages differed from their own.

As the white men settled Numa land, the Numa language incorporated many English terms, especially for items brought by the foreigners: ***akwse*** (ax), ***kasi*** (cars), ***satobe*** (stove), ***ti*** (tea), ***suga*** (sugar), and ***buka*** (book), among others, closely resemble their English counterparts. Many Numa today are bilingual, but while the adults often use the native language as their primary language, the children speak English as their first language. Contact with whites, reservation schools, and current public schools has modified, and sometimes eliminated, the native language.

Traditionally the Numa lived in the Great Basin area, occupying about a third of present-day Nevada and land in Oregon, southern Idaho, and eastern California. Within this area, numerous different bands lived, hunted, and travelled. The bands obtained their names from the most common foods in their area or from prominent geographical features. Many common practices linked these groups; before the white man arrived in their land they shared similar histories and patterns of life, which will be described in the first chapter of this book.

Between 1820 and 1860, white men appeared in the area. At first, only a trickle of strangers passed through Numa land; soon numbers of settlers strained the resources of the area and the patience of its native people. The second and third chapters chronicle this influx, the problems it created for the Numa, and their response in the Pyramid Lake War of 1860.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, so many white settlers inhabited Numa land that the people could no longer find adequate food. Often they were displaced from their homes and discouraged from roaming their territory. The government supported this invasion of Numa land by establishing reservations. The final chapters of Numa history have been written on these reservations and on colonies formed in the twentieth century; today, Numa on the reservations and colonies face the problems of the present. The concluding sections of this book tell the stories of these groups, whose histories begin with the distinct features of their original culture. Their narratives are not yet finished. Today, on each reservation and colony, Numa are working to create their future.

Numa (The People)

Each morning, the Numa began their day with prayers to *Numanah,* the "Father of All People" and "Creator of All Things." Washing his face in clear cold water, each individual faced the rising sun, gave thanks to *Numanah,* and asked that the sun carry away his illnesses as it moved on its journey: "Give me a good day. Take away any sicknesses I may have and drop them on the other side of the mountains." [1] Prayers of petition and thanks like these were offered on every important occasion. Before a meal was shared among the people, part of the food was offered to the earth: "Thank you for the food you provided for us. We offer you the same food we eat." [2] The tribe met to pray for success and give thanks for bounty before hunting or harvesting.[3] The Numa asked that the young—children, plants, and animals—grow healthy and strong.[4] Prayers

The Numa began each morning with a prayer. In his prayer, each individual asked Numanah ***to remove all the sickness from his body. (A Dorothy Nez drawing).***

3

also asked that specific illnesses be cured and open wounds healed.[5] *Numanah* received not only pleas for help but gratitude for all that he gave to the Numa.

Sometimes, though, prayer alone did not cure an illness. Then the Numa sought the help of the *Poo ha gum*,[6] who received powers through dreams or visions. The spirits who appeared in these dreams—snakes, waterbabies, and even lakes—gave the *Poo ha gum* special potency to help the Numa.[7] The *Poo ha gum* used many different objects: rattles, eagle feathers, herbs, songs, and dances helped him cure many illnesses.[8]

When someone needed the services of the *Poo ha gum,* a friend or family member contacted the doctor, who told the people what to prepare. Then the *Poo ha gum* went to the patient's home, where the Numa gathered to help and witness the treatment. The sick person was usually laid on the ground while the *Poo ha gum* shook a rattle and sang over him. If the Numa knew the song, they joined in. At times, when the *Poo ha gum's* words were mumbled and drawn out, an interpreter explained his speech to the Numa.[9]

Often after the *Poo ha gum* sang and danced around the patient's body, he stiffened and fell in a trance. A few of the men placed him next to the sick person;[10] then the *Poo ha gum,* in his trance, "spoke to the spirits and asked them to intervene on behalf of the patient."[11] When he came out of the trance, he remained on the ground beside the sick person and began to sing again.[12] Later, he stood up, still singing.

Often the *Poo ha gum* used eagle feathers. An eagle feather was attached by buckskin to the top of a long stick which was placed in the ground above the patient's head. While the *Poo ha gum* sang and shook his rattle, the eagle feather sometimes moved spontaneously at right angles to the stick. Other eagle feathers were laid on the sick person while the *Poo ha gum* drew the sickness out of him.[13]

When the *Poo ha gum* finished, he told the family whether there was anything to be done. If he had been successful, he outlined the changes the sick person had to make in his life style or what medicines he had to take to get well.[14] Usually, the ceremony finished about midnight. When the *Poo ha gum* had given his advice, the sick person's family fed all those who had attended the doctoring before they returned to their homes to sleep.[15]

Medicine rattles accompanied the Poo ha gum *when he cured the Numa. (A Dorothy Nez drawing, from a display in the Nevada State Museum).*

Because the *Poo ha gum* could use the powers they received for good or evil purposes, they were closely watched. If a *Poo ha gum* lost too many patients, he would be put to death.[16] In this way the Numa protected themselves from evil *Poo ha gum*.

The gifts of *Numanah* helped the people in many ways; each gift was usually used for several purposes. Some of the uses of *sa wa bai* (sagebrush) show the versatility and importance herbs had for the Numa. Tea made from the leaves of the *sa wa bai* was used to treat colds. As they did with *Numanah's* other gifts, the Numa offered thanks before drinking the tea. Often the *Poo ha gum* would dip a young *sa wa bai* in water and wave it over an individual's body, praying that he would enjoy good health. Each child was fanned with wet *sa wa bai* on his birthday, while the Numa prayed that he would grow and remain healthy.[17] Often herbs like *sa wa bai* were an important part of the *Poo ha gum's* advice and treatment.

Hospitality was also central to Numa life. As *Numanah* shared with them, they shared with others. Any stranger who visited a Numa home was asked if he had eaten and offered food.[18] A part of each meal was given to *Numanah* in thanks.[19]

The family was the main unit of Numa society and family relationships were close. An individual referred to the members of his family by these names:[20]

son . . . . du wa
daughter . . . . ba doo
father . . . . nah ah
mother . . . . bee ah

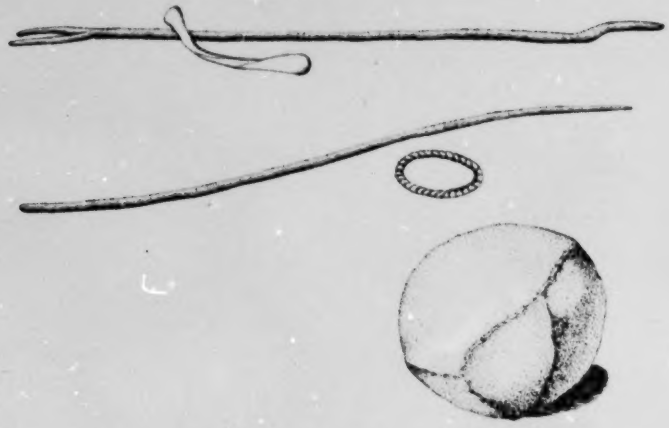
mother's side

grandfather . . . . toe go
grandmother . . . . moo ah
great grandfather . . . . hu bee
great grandmother . . . . hu bee
uncle . . . . ah si
aunt . . . . pi doo oo

father's side

grandfather . . . . ku no
grandmother . . . . hu si
great grandfather . . . . hu bee
great grandmother . . . . hu bee
uncle . . . . hite
aunt . . . . pah wah
relatives . . . . nu mu du wi

The possessive adjective "e" (my), which always preceded the name, showed respect for the relative who was addressed. Grandparents and great-grandparents called their grand-and-great-grand-children by the same terms the children used for them: thus a boy addressed his father's mother as "e hu si" and she in turn called him "e hu si." Aunts and uncles addressed their nieces and nephews with the same words they spoke to their own children, since the Numa believed "your brother's children are also your children."[21] The Numa language contained no word for cousin, since no concept of that relationship existed in their society. A "cousin," however distant, was addressed as a brother or sister.[22] These forms of address reflected the close ties which linked members of a Numa family.



Wah-tok-coy, *a men's game, was played with a* wah-szi-mo (ball), *shown on the bottom. Another game used a stick and a buckskin-covered ring, shown in the center.* Na-zi-sa-ka, *a women's game, was played with a stick and braided cloth, shown on the top. Contestants scored points by kicking the* wah-szi-mo *through a goal, throwing the stick through the ring so that the ring fell on its side, or passing the braided cloth through a goal. (A Dorothy Nez drawing, from* The Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, 1902–1903).

Psychological competition was an important part of Numa handgames. Numa are shown here playing handgames at Pyramid Lake. Top, left to right: Ella Winnemucca, unknown, unknown, Mannie Moore, unknown, unknown, Andy Morgan, and Old Man Frazier. Bottom, left to right: Susie Rowe, T.P. Wadsworth, Ben Rowe, unknown, unknown, Tommy Dunn, Johnny Dunn, (Courtesy of Leah Manning).

Animals entered into almost every aspect of Numa life. The Numa believe that animals lived on earth before man was placed there. These animals, including rabbits, snakes, grasshoppers, birds, deer, and fish, all had individual personalities. They were intelligent and spoke to one another, and because they all lived in the same general area, they set down guidelines for life. These rules became the laws of nature, principles which all living things must follow.

When the Numa came to the earth, they recognized these laws and honored the animals' life styles. Elders told their children and grandchildren about the different animals, who came to represent elements in the life of each Numa. The stories about the animals, preserved in legends, taught the young about all the aspects of their lives: religion, food, society, morality, and the features of their land. In each tale, the animal discovers something about himself or his world; the child who listened learned the same lesson.[23]

Some stories displayed animals whose good natures were to be imitated; others presented creatures with bad dispositions whose mistakes were to be avoided. One prominent animal in Numa legends is *Itsa,* the coyote, whose foolish actions are often ridiculed. In the following coyote story, *Itsa* is frightened when he discovers his own real appearance.

It was a hot day during the middle of July, hotter than usual. The sun's heat beat down hard, drawing the moistness out of every animal's mouth. Among the thirsty was a coyote who had travelled most of that scorching day searching for a cool drink of life-saving water. The coyote pulled his front paws through the sand, his tail dragging behind his legs. Staggering to the top of a hill, he saw a pool of dark blue water shining like a mirror in the center of three large hills.

The coyote thought only of the cool water which would trickle down his dry, scorched throat. Slowly, drawing up all his strength, he put his right foot forward to move toward the water hole. About a hundred feet of unshaded white sand stretched between the top of the hill and the edge of the water hole. The coyote tried to avoid resting his full weight on the hot sand which burned the bottoms of his paws. He looked as if he were dancing down the hill. His paws

barely touched the sand and bounced back into the air so quickly that he didn't leave any tracks.

When he reached the pool of water he closed his eyes and slowly lowered his head. His tongue fell out of his mouth and reached for the water, but didn't quite reach it. When he opened his eyes to see how far away he was, he saw something he had never seen before. He jumped back, saying, *"Ah-dah nu-nit!* What is that repulsive creature doing in such a beautiful pool of water?"

He decided to scare the *nu-nit* away by showing his teeth. When he leaned forward and exposed his teeth to the *nu-nit* to show how ferocious he was, the coyote saw the image of a dark, hairy creature with long fangs. He drew back quickly, for he was afraid of this animal in the transparent blue pond. He sat back on his haunches to see if the ugly creature would leave, but when he leaned forward again it reappeared. He ran off quickly, forgetting his fatigue.

The coyote knew another pond which was only half a day's walk from where he was at that moment. Although he was tired, he started walking. His thirst gave him the strength to make each step. All during his journey, the creature from the last pond was embedded in his mind. At nightfall he fell asleep with thirst burning his throat, but when he awoke the next morning he still had thoughts of the hideous, repulsive, unsightly creature. He was certain he would never again return to that pond for a drink of water.

He dragged himself towards the watering hole, imagining the cool water trickling down his throat. This thought alone kept him going. Soon he found himself standing on a hill overlooking a pond which seemed like an ocean in the middle of the desert.

This pond, the only water for miles, meant life for all creatures. Despite his fiery throat, the coyote stopped to feast his eyes on the scarce water hole in the forbidding desert. As he gazed over the pond, he noticed a rabbit drinking at the edge. The coyote thought to himself, "If a small defenseless animal like a rabbit can drink from that pond, I can drink in safety." As he started to make his way down the hill, the rabbit's head quickly popped up from the pond. With water still dripping from the fur around its mouth, the tiny animal left a cloud of dust behind as it ran. The coyote, hurrying down the slope toward the water, stumbled and rolled all the way

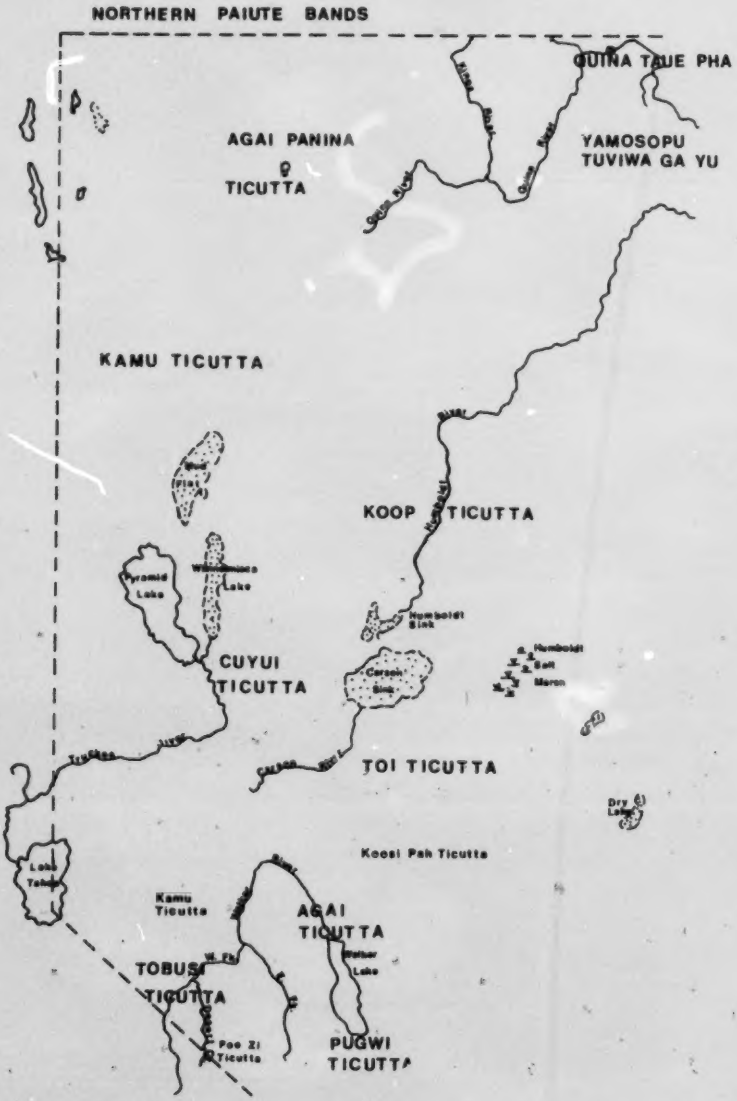
down to the bottom of the hill. He stood up, collected his thoughts, and straightened up to act like the handsome being he knew he was.

With his eyes closed he bent forward slowly to touch the cool, refreshing liquid. The moistness felt good against his mouth, but when he opened his eyes he noticed that the creature from the previous pond had followed him. He quickly yanked his head away, causing ripples in the pond. The creature disappeared. He thought this strange and let the water become still. When it became still he saw the hideous creature once again. The coyote took his paw, placed it in the pond, and shook it back and forth, disrupting the water. Again the creature disappeared. The *Itsa* realized that the hideous, repulsive, unsightly creature was his own reflection, and that he was not handsome but frightening.[24]

Although the coyote's greed, treachery, and mischief always caused trouble, *Itsa* thought of himself as a handsome, triumphant victor since he escaped punishment through his cunning and artifice. For the Numa, he was an example of undesirable behavior. Stories like this showed children that they would be publicly embarassed for acting like *Itsa*. When a Numa was caught behaving in such a way, all the people laughed at him, telling him his uncle was the coyote. In this way social pressure reinforced the values stressed in the legends.

Numa life depended on a yearly harvest of plants and animals which provided food and clothing for the harsh winters. Times of hunt and harvest brought scattered groups together. Before the Numa began a drive they offered songs, dances, and prayers to *Numanah*, asking for success and bounty. Throughout the year, the Numa gathered many fish, plants, animals, and birds for food and clothing; *agai* (trout), *tuba* (pine nuts), *kamu* (jack rabbits), and *sy ya* (mud-hens) each illustrate some Numa methods and ceremonies, though they represent only a part of the total harvest.

During the spring months, as the snow melted and green shoots began to appear, the fish travelled upstream to spawn. *Agai* (trout) were abundant in all the lakes and rivers in Numa territory: the Truckee, Carson, Walker and Humboldt Rivers, as well as *Agai Pah* (Trout Lake or Walker Lake) and *Cu Yui Pah* (Cu Yui Lake or


NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS
QUINA TAUE PHA
AGAI PANINA
TICUTTA
YAMOSOPU
TUVIWA GA YU
KAMU TICUTTA
KOOP TICUTTA
Pyramid Lake
Winnemucca Lake
Humboldt Sink
CUYUI
TICUTTA
Carson Sink
Humboldt Salt Marsh
TOI TICUTTA
Dry Lake
Koosi Pah Ticutta
Kamu Ticutta
AGAI
TICUTTA
TOBUSE
TICUTTA
Walker Lake
Poe Zi Ticutta
PUGWI
TICUTTA

Pyramid Lake), were filled with fish. When the *agai* began to move upstream, the Numa travelled to the nearest lake or river to fish.

Several fishing methods were common. Willow nets, stretched across the mouth of the river, were used as weirs which channelled the *agai* toward a platform where men stood ready with dip nets.[25] Bone hooks attached to reed twine could be dropped in the water. A kind of harpoon could also be used to spear the fish. To make this harpoon, the Numa selected a pole about fourteen feet long. The prong was made from two pieces of bone, joined at a 130 degree angle and sealed together with cooked pine pitch and ashes. One of the bones was hollowed out to fit over the tip of the pole. A piece of strong thin twine, made from reed bark, connected the pole and the two-pointed prong. The Numa, grasping the harpoon, followed the fish as it moved upstream. When he came close to the *agai*, he stabbed a fish, pushing the prong through its side. Then the Numa pulled on the reed twine, the bone prong turned sideways on the other side of the fish, and the catch could be hauled in.[26]

No matter how they had been caught, the fish were brought to the women for cleaning. If the *agai* were to be eaten immediately, they were slit up the stomach. Then the women cleaned away all the intestines, folded the fish open, and baked or roasted them over an open fire. If the *agai* were to be stored for later use, they were prepared differently. After the heads were removed, the fish were slit down the spine rather than the stomach. When the bones and intestines had been removed, the fish was chopped with a knife and hung over a rack to dry.[27] In the winter months, the Numa women pounded this dried fish between two rocks and then boiled the softened *agai*.[28]

The spring, the time when all life began the new year, was also the season when the Numa met to ask *Numanah* for a good harvest of *tuba* (pine nuts). Through song, dance, and prayer, they petitioned that the pine nut trees might be fruitful.[29] Pine cones from the previous *tuba* harvest were buried in the mud so that all pine nut trees everywhere would grow and produce many nuts.[30] After the ceremonies, the Numa returned to their homes for the spring and summer months.

In the fall, *sziquoppi*, a bright yellow flower, bloomed, signalling the approaching *tuba* harvest.[31] Scouts went to check the nuts, search-

ing the mountains for a place where they grew in abundance. Often a location that had been plentiful the past year had few nuts, so the scouts would have to find a new area to harvest. When they returned, they brought several pine cones to show to the tribal elders, who examined the cones to see if they were ripe. When the elders decided it was time for the harvest to begin, the Numa held a ceremony to thank *Numanah* for his gifts and ask that the blessing of safety be bestowed on the individuals who gathered them. The people joined in songs and circle dances.[32]

In October when the *sziquoppi* was in full bloom, the families travelled to the mountains to gather the *tuba*. They carried water jugs, burden baskets, winnowing trays, and dried meat with them. Other foods could be gathered near the camp in the mountains.

The Numa used long sticks with hooks on the ends to reach to the tops of the trees and shake the pine cones loose. The cones were gathered in *wo-no* (burden baskets) and brought back to camp, where they were spread on the ground in a sunny place. As the cones dried, their leaves opened, exposing the *tuba*. Then the Numa picked up the dried cones and knocked the *tuba* free with a heavy stick.[33]

The Numa scooped pine nut soup up with bread or meat. Here, from left to right, Maggie James, Rosie James, and Louise James eat the soup. (A Dorothy Nez drawing, from a photograph taken in Wadsworth, courtesy of Katherine Johnson).

Next the nuts were prepared for eating. *Tuba* and hot coals were placed in a winnowing tray, which was shaken until the nuts were cooked. The shells were cracked between a round rock and a flat rock. The broken nuts were returned to a tightly-woven winnowing tray. When a breeze came through the camp, the pieces were tossed in the air, which blew away the shells while the *tuba* fell back into the tray. Once the meat was free of the shell, it was ground into flour between the flat and round rocks. The Numa dipped bread and meat into a soup made by adding water to this flour.[34]

The fall months were also the time of rabbit drives. The day before they hunted the *kamu* (jack-rabbits), the Numa gathered to ask *Numanah* for a successful hunt. Since the Numa believed that the *kamu*, like other animals, were intelligent and understood human speech, the leader of the drive was careful to keep its location secret until early morning when the hunt was about to begin. Otherwise, if the *kamu* overheard the plans, they could avoid the hunters and ruin the drive.[35]

On the morning of the hunt, Numa women and children rose early and carried nets to the chosen area. The nets, made from strips of reed bark soaked and rolled together into a strong thin twine, were placed against the sagebrush and held up with sticks. The nets belonging to a single family could be as large as three feet high and one hundred and fifty feet long.[36] The men began far from the nets. As they walked toward them, they made as much noise as they could. The frightened *kamu*, fleeing from the men, ran into the nets, catching their heads in the holes. Then women and children clubbed the trapped animals with heavy sticks.

In a single hunt, the Numa could take hundreds of *kamu*, which they used for many purposes. The *kamu* were either cooked immediately or dried for later use. In the winter, the dried meat could be boiled and made tender. Blankets, shoes, and clothing made from *kamu* skins kept the Numa warm during the freezing months. A single blanket required as many as one hundred skins. Thus nothing was wasted, for almost every part of the *kamu* could be used to provide food or clothing.

In November, the Numa hunted the *sy ya* (mud-hen). By this time, the water fowl were so fat they were unable to fly.[37] The Numa travelled from all parts of their territory to gather at the nearest body

of water for the annual drives, which took place at Winnemucca, Humboldt, and Walker Lakes and the Stillwater Marshes. As at other harvests, they gathered the night before to dance, sing, pray, and offer thanks to *Numanah*.[38]

Early in the morning, the men headed out onto the lake in their small boats. Traditionally the one-man boats were made from bundles of tule shoots fastened together. In the late 1880's, however, the Numa began to use boats made by the white man.[39] As in the rabbit drive, the men encircled the animals and drove them toward the waiting women and children. When the boats surrounded the birds, the *sy ya* swam to shore, ran up onto the beach, and headed for the sagebrush. As they reached the brush, the women and children began the chase.[40] Hundreds of *sy ya,* running wildly, dodged in and out of the sagebrush as the women and children caught them and broke their necks with a quick snap of the wrist.[41]

The dead fowl were gathered up, gutted, and plucked on the day of the drive. Then they were cooked under hot coals. To preserve them for the winter months, the Numa laid them open and exposed them to the air until they dried. Like other dried meats, the *sy ya* could be boiled and softened later in the winter.[42]

The Pyramid Lake Numa camped at the south end of Winnemucca Lake for weeks during the mud-hen season. Drives were repeated each morning until every family had taken all the *sy ya* they needed. The mud-hen drives continued until the 1930's;[43] today, however, the lake has dried up and the *sy ya* can no longer make their home there.

The yearly cycle of food gathering activities was part of a life style the Numa had followed for centuries, a way of life which respected the land and the animals who lived on it. The animals and plants, the rocks, lakes, and desert formations among which they lived, all helped to determine the patterns of Numa society. Traditions and ceremonies preserved the Numa heritage from generation to generation and offered thanks to *Numanah* for his gifts. The incursion of the white man was to alter those patterns and destroy the fragile balance the Numa had maintained with their land.

Taibo (The White Man)

Until the 1820's, the Great Basin area now known as Nevada had not been touched by the white strangers who had invaded other parts of the American continent. In the 1820's, however, the possibility of great riches led explorers into Numa territory. Fur trappers in search of beaver led the procession; soon they were followed by traders, emigrants, miners, and settlers.

The first recorded trapper, Jedediah Smith, reached Numa country in 1827. Leaving California, he crossed the Sierra Nevadas, the east fork of the Carson River, and the west fork of the Walker River. Although Smith invaded Numa land, he seems to have been scarcely interested in the native people. He wrote of them: "When we found water in some of the rocky hills, we most generally found some Indians who appeared the most miserable of the human race having nothing to subsist on (nor any clothing) except grass seed,

The kahnee *was a traditional Numa home. Mabel Paulina made this replica in 1970 on the Pyramid Lake Reservation. (A Dorothy Nez photograph, courtesy of the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada History Project).*

and grasshoppers, etc."[1] This description hardly did justice to the Numa culture, which had developed many ways to live on what the land provided.

The following year a second group of whites, led by Peter Skene Ogden, entered the Numa country from the north. In southern Oregon, Ogden's party met and tried to capture a group of Indians who were probably Numa. The single Indian they trapped told them about the Humboldt River. Although Ogden's party glimpsed Indians as they continued south toward the river, the Numa avoided them as much as possible. Ogden assumed that "no doubt we are the first whites they have seen and suppose we have come with no good intentions towards them."[2]

Ogden's party had been sent by the Hudson Bay Company to deplete the beaver supply as much as possible and prevent increased competition between British and American trappers in the area. When the party reached the Humboldt River on November 10, 1828, they found the "beaver not over abundant and apparently very wild; this attributed to the number of Indians who no doubt render them so."[3] Ogden did not realize that his depletion policy destroyed not only beaver but many other plants and animals that the Numa depended on. Ogden did learn that the Numa used beaver skins. In the afternoon of November 13, 1826, six Numa visited his camp to trade three partial skins. When Ogden inquired ". . . what they had done with the remainder of the skins they pointed to their shoes and on examination I found all were made of the skins of beaver."[4] Apparently he did not consider the effects of his company's policy on the lives of the Indians, or even ask himself what the people would make their shoes from when all the beaver were killed.

Two days later, on November 15, Ogden wrote in his journal: "As we were on the eve of starting this morning, ten Indians paid us a visit and as we had four traps stolen yesterday, I did not lose this opportunity of treating them pretty roughly, at the same time gave them to understand if they did not cease from stealing we would shoot all we saw."[5] Thus Ogden demonstrated the way he would handle the Numa: no matter who had stolen the traps, the whole people would be blamed.

In a similar manner, when Ogden needed information about the surrounding country, he simply captured a likely-looking guide,

demanded information, and forced the man to lead his party. But before he left the Humboldt River area, he acquired valuable information from an elderly Numa, who, unlike previous informants, volunteered his help. He described the course of the river to Ogden: "that the distance was great to the sources, not less than ten days march—there we shall find five forks, on three of these beaver, that the river discharges in a large lake, and that salmon does not ascend this stream and consequently has no communication with the waters of the ocean." [6]

When he returned to the area in May 1829, Ogden and his party followed the Humboldt River to the sink it created. Near the sink, they met a group of Indians. Ogden believed that they were prepared for battle and avoided contact with them, so he did not discover whether they were Numa or some other tribe.[7] The party left before summer, without encountering any more trouble.

They returned in the autumn of the same year and apparently had difficulty with some Numa in the area where they had seen the so-called war party that spring. Ogden's account recalls: "the second day after my arrival the natives collected, not less than four hundred, apparently fully determined we should proceed no further, either wishing we should not communicate with their neighbors or obtain any knowledge of their country." [8] His party managed to slip by this group. Then Ogden's party travelled south to *Agai Pah* (Trout Lake or Walker Lake), and continued to California. During the two years they spent in Numa country, the Ogden parties destroyed what had always been an ample supply of beaver for the Numa.

The next intruders were trappers under the leadership of Joseph Walker. His first party, which arrived in 1833, consisted of forty men and a fairly large herd of stock. The story of Walker's men and their exploration is often told in textbooks, but such histories seldom mention that these "explorers" murdered about one hundred Numa.

When the Walker party reached the Humboldt Sink, they found the area inhabited by many Indians. Washington Irving, in *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A.*, describes a meeting between the Numa and the whites: "After a time the natives began to make their appearance, and sometimes in considerable numbers, but always pacific; the trappers, however, suspected them of deep-laid plans to draw them into ambuscades; to crowd into and get

possession of their camp, and various other crafty and daring conspiracies, which, it is probable, never entered into the heads [of the Indians]." [9] The Numa displayed no hostility to the trappers; instead they repeatedly invited Walker's party to stop and smoke, offering friendship to them as they did to all strangers in their land. During one such invitation, Walker decided to attack. He left thirty or forty Numa dead, giving orders after the massacre "to take the bows of the fallen Indians and put the wounded out of their misery." [10] Later Zenas Leonard, a member of Walker's party, explained that "a number of our men had never been engaged in any fighting with the Indians, and were anxious to try their skill." [11] Apparently they were allowed to "try their skill" by murdering innocent people. Before the party left, they stole Numa horses and killed two more Indians.

When Walker's party returned the following year (1834), they met large groups of Numa in the Carson and Humboldt Sink areas. Leonard describes the action that followed: "We drew up in battle array, and fell on the Indians in the wildest and most ferocious manner we could, killing fourteen, besides wounding a great many more as we rode right over them." [12] It is not likely that the Indians were preparing for battle. The fact that only three of Walker's men were slightly wounded suggests that the Indians were surprised by the trappers and had done nothing to provoke an attack. Washington Irving reports that the financial backer of the expedition, hearing of Walker's actions, was "so indignant at the atrocities related to him, that he turned, with disgust and horror, from the narrators." [13]

In the expeditions of 1833–4, Walker had murdered over fifty Indians. When he returned in 1843, leading one of the first emigrant parties through Numa territory, he killed sixteen Numa in the Humboldt Sink region and twenty five more in the Owens Valley area. Joseph Walker seemed to be proud of these murders; later, while guiding the Fremont Expedition, he pointed out the places where his 1843 expedition had slain Indians.

A few emigrant groups passed through Numa land on their way to California, but the next notable intruder in the area was John Charles Fremont, who came from the north in 1843 with Kit Carson and Alexander Godey. The first Numa they met tried to avoid them, but the intruders wanted to make contact. Carson and Godey were

sent after the Indians; they only captured one woman who had fallen. When Fremont questioned her, he "found that they belonged to the Snake Nation [all Shoshone-speaking people, including the Numa], speaking the language of that people." [14]

The Numa were hesitant to approach the party because Fremont's blue eyes and full beard suggested an owl's face; the Numa thought he was half human and half owl. Old Winnemucca, hearing reports of this strange being, investigated personally. When he saw Fremont from a distance, Old Winnemucca told his men that Fremont was not half owl and half human, but described him as the white man's devil.[15] In later years, the Numa, who suffered many injustices at the hands of white men who had been led into their land, found that description accurate.

When Fremont and his party reached *Cu Yui Pah* (Cu Yui Lake or Pyramid Lake), which they had seen from the surrounding mountains in January 1844, they followed an Indian trail around it. This path brought them to the mouth of the Truckee River and the Numa camp located there. The *Cu Yui Ticutta* (Cu Yui Eaters, the Numa name for the people of this area) treated Fremont with friendliness and hospitality, allowing his party to camp nearby and keeping them well stocked with fish. Fremont, however, like the explorers who had come before him, grew afraid and insecure when many of the Indians began visiting his camp regularly. As a result, though Fremont's well-armed men had pulled their howitzer across the Numa camp, Fremont told the Numa that they would not be permitted to carry their arms into the white camp.[16]

When the intruders asked for information, the *Cu Yui Ticutta* "made on the ground a drawing of the river, which they represented as issuing from another lake [Lake Tahoe] in the mountains three or four days distant, in a direction a little west of south, beyond which, they drew a mountain [Sierra Nevada Mountains]; and further still, two rivers [Carson and Walker Rivers] on one of which they told us that people like ourselves travelled [the Bartleson-Bidwell party or perhaps the segment of the Chiles party led by Walker]." [17] Soon, this Fremont party left *Cu Yui Pah* and moved south to the Carson River. Although the party encountered more Indian camps, most Numa tried to avoid the white group. Fremont

left the area in late January, after spending approximately a month in Numa country.

Late in 1845, John C. Fremont brought another party to investigate Numa land. When they reached Flowery Springs (in eastern Nevada), they split into two groups. The smaller party, led by Fremont, was to cut directly across Nevada to *Agai Pah* (Trout Lake or Walker Lake) while the larger group followed the course of the Humboldt River. The two groups would meet at the lake. The larger party, which reached the Humboldt Sink on November 23, met Indians who were cautious and shy, probably because they had heard about other Numa murdered by white men. When the larger party rejoined Fremont and his group at *Agai Pah*, they found that the Numa there, like those they had met earlier, were friendly. None of the Indians they met resembled the hostile warriors described by Walker. The group split again when the explorers left *Agai Pah*. Fremont's party headed north, passing along the Truckee River and through the Donner Pass. The other party went south through Owens Valley.[18] During this expedition, Fremont, like other explorers before him, ignored traditional Indian names for the places he visited. He also changed the name of the Mary's or Ogden's River to the Humboldt River. While the Numa named places for their notable features or events, Fremont named a river he had never seen for a German naturalist who had never been in the area.

After these explorers, a different kind of intruder came to Numa territory. Emigrants on the way to California poured into the area. When whites failed to respect the Numa and their land, the Indians began to shoot at the travellers and steal their stock. These conflicts, combined with reports of the Donner Party and the Mexican War, brought travel through Numa land to a complete halt by 1847.

But a year later, on January 4, 1848, gold was discovered in California at Sutter's Mill. The nationwide gold rush touched off by this news brought a continuous stream of whites through Numa country by 1849. The old conflicts sprang up again: whites shot Numa with little or no provocation and the Indians retaliated by stealing or shooting stock. Numa were not only killed in these conflicts; they were also driven away from the areas where they had lived for many generations, since the white mans' stock destroyed

many of the plants that they depended on for food. The area along the Humboldt River, which once supported hundreds or thousands of the Numa, could no longer feed the people.

Repeated reports of Indian hostilities in Numa country spurred the government to make an investigation; in 1852 Agent Jacob Holeman was sent to the area to report on the problems. Holeman met with Numa near the Carson River who told him that "they had never disturbed the whites or their property until the whites commenced killing them and robbing their horses." Holeman himself saw three hundred wagons along the Humboldt each day.[19] Thus, although the troubles were referred to as "Indian hostilities," the information suggested that the Numa were not responsible for all the trouble in their land.

When Holeman returned the following year to investigate the white traders along the Humboldt route, he found that they aggravated the problems for their own advantage:

> By unkind treatment to the Indians they make them unfriendly towards the emigrants; schisms arise which they take advantage of, and steal, and commit more depredations than the Indians, all of which they manage to have charged to the Indians. I was told by the Indians that some of these traders had proposed to them to steal stock from emigrants, and run them off into the valleys in the mountains, and after the emigration had ceased passing, they would bring out guns, ammunition, blankets, etc., and trade with them for the stock stolen.

After two investigations into the problem, Holeman concluded that "the whites who infest the country are far more troublesome than the Indians."[20]

In 1859, the government sent Indian Agent Frederick Dodge to establish an agency at Genoa. Dodge's report gives some idea of the numbers of Numa in the area and the locations of the various bands:[21]

	Population
Wun-a-mac-a's band on Smoke Creek near Honey Lake	155
San Joaquin's band in Carson Valley	170
Had-sa-poke's band at Gold Canyon on Carson River	110

Wa-hi's band on the Big Bend of Carson River	130
O-duk-e-o's, Pe-tod-se-ka's and To-sarke's bands on the lakes and sinks of Carson and Walker River	1,625
To-no-yiet's band residing below the Big Meadows, Truckee River	280
To-repe's band living near the lower crossing of the Truckee River	360
Ge-nega's band living at the mouth of the Truckee River	290
Wat-se-que-order's band residing along the shores of Pyramid Lake	320
Wun-a-muc-a's (the second) band living around the shores of lower Mud Lake	300

In this report, Dodge recommended that a reservation be established at Truckee Meadows for the Numa and Washo peoples. Later that year, he recommended two separate reservations, one at *Cu Yui Pah* and one at *Agai Pah*, for the sole use of the Numa.[22]

In June 1859, miners discovered gold and silver ore on the eastern slope of Sun Mountain. This Comstock Lode brought hordes of prospectors into Numa territory. In very little time, more whites than the Numa had ever seen filled the land. This sudden migration depleted the area's resources. As one spot was exhausted, the miners converged on another location, taking what they wanted. The Numa, who had lived in these places for many years, found that they had only two choices: they could leave their homes and seek new lands with sufficient food, or they could settle on the outskirts of the lawless mining towns and eke out a living working for white settlers and miners.

The gold rushes, which brought numerous travellers through and into Numa land, forced the Numa to deal with many rapid changes. If the search for ore had not flooded the area with ambitious miners, the Numa and the whites would have been allowed more time to

adjust to each other. As it was, the clash between the two cultures was abrupt. The prospectors, intent on instant riches, had little interest in the people they displaced; the Numa had no opportunity to protest the desecration of their homeland. The Indians were losing patience; if injustices continued, they would seek retaliation. In 1860, the whites would learn that they could push no farther without a reaction from the Numa.

The Pyramid Lake War of 1860

The Indians who gathered near Pyramid Lake in 1860, like many others who had encountered white men, found it hard to understand the disparity between the white man's words and his acts. One man voiced this discovery: "He violates the law, 'Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shall love thy neighbor as thyself.' The white man don't believe nothing. They make laws but they violate their own laws. They fight their own law." [1] Without regard for his own words, laws, or promises, the white man took Indian land, destroyed Indian resources, and replaced Indian homes with reservations. The lesson was repeated for Indians everywhere: while any white man could violate Indian laws for his own advantage, the Indian would be severely punished for disobeying white laws.

A variety of injustices offended the many Numa bands and the Shoshone and Bannock Indians who lived in the Nevada Territory. Over and over again, though the Indians would have been willing to share their lands with the white foreigners, the white man had refused to treat Indians as human beings. The 1849 California Gold Rush brought many whites through the Nevada Territory. Increased contact multiplied the Indians' problems. As "gold fever" grew, white prospectors flooded Numa land. Many whites who followed trails through Indian territory had heard stories which told of "massacres" and "savages." Those who assumed that these tales were true believed that they would be considered heroes if they killed the Indians. As more whites came to Indian land, conflict increased. The intruders, who believed the Indians had no legal rights, squatted on the best land, killed the game, and cut down the pine trees. They squandered the natural resources the Numa had depended on. Indian women, as well as Indian lands, were taken and despoiled. So many women had been abused that all Numa women hid from the white men. In their minds, Indian women, like ancestral Indian lands, the animals who roamed the forest, the nut-bearing trees, and the clear waters, existed solely for the white man's use. If they considered the

Indian at all, the white men assumed that such "savages" would have no feelings.

Naturally these violations angered the Indians. If they sought revenge, as one eighty three year old Numa remembers, "the whites called Indians barbarians, but in reality the white people were the barbarians."[2] Finally the Indians of the Nevada Territory brought their grievances to a council at Pyramid Lake. Leaders from all the tribes assembled to decide whether to make war on the white invaders:[3]

> There was Chief Wahe—Winnemucca's brother—and his band from Walker Lake. From far to the east came the Shoshoni Chief Qudazoboeat, who was married to a Paiute woman. Chief Sawadabebo, half Bannock and half Paiute, came all the way from Powder River with his warriors. Chief Saaba, called Smoke Creek Sam by whites, had been at the lake and waiting for war since his February run-in with Captain Weatherlow and Thomas Harvey. Chiefs Hozia and Nojomud of Honey Lake Valley had brought in their people. From the Big Bend of the Carson River to the southeast came Chief Yurdy and his people. Antelope Valley was represented by Chief Hazabok, and from the north came Chief Sequinata and his tough band of Black Rock Desert warriors. To the northeast, from Humboldt Meadows, came Chief Moguannoga and his men. Added to these chiefs and their fighting men were Chief Winnemucca and War Chief Numaga.[4]

All of them agreed that some answers to the problems created by increasingly numerous whites had to be found.

During the spring days, the group gathered food to supply the encampment. The men hunted large game while the women gathered plants and small birds. When night came, the council met to discuss the problem of the white man. They smoked for guidance and then each member spoke:

> The Shoshoni, Chief Qudazoboeat, was for war. Chief Sawadabebo of the Bannocks was for war. Chief Saaba from the Smoke Creek band was for war. The Honey Lake Valley Chiefs—Nojomud and Hozia—were for war. Chief Yurdy from the Big Bend of the Carson River was for war. Chief Sequinata of the Black Rock Desert was for war; and Chief Hazabok from Antelope Valley was all-out for war. Hazabok told the council of chiefs and warriors that he would 'supply the warriors with bullets, by changing their tobacco into lead; to cause the ground to open and swallow the whites; and to kill

> them with fierce storms of hail.' Yet all the while, Chief Winnemucca remained silent, and so, too, did War Chief Numaga. But when the time came for him to speak, Numaga—the Giver of Food—voted against war.[5]

The wrongs done to them loomed large before these leaders; only one counseled against conflict.

Numaga spoke against war, not because he or the Numa feared battle, but because he knew the strength the white men could mass against his people. Having lived and worked in California among the whites, he was able to estimate their power. But Chief Winnemucca (Poito) distrusted him because of this experience: "Numaga was too friendly with the whites. . . . He spoke their language, and now all the whites in the land looked upon him as the great chief of the Paiutes."[6] Numaga knew his vote alone would have no effect on the decision of the council; to prevent a disastrous war he would have to convince the members to change their position. To demonstrate the truth of his statements, Numaga lay for three days and two nights without food, water, or sleep. Despite warnings and threats from many of the council members, Numaga continued his fast.[7]

While Numaga fasted, the incident which was to decide the issue unfolded:

> Two little girls about twelve years old went out into the woods to dig roots, and did not come back, and so their parents went in search of them, and not finding them, all the Paiutes who were there came to their help, and very thoroughly searched, and found trails which led up to the house of two traders named Williams on Carson River, near by the Indian Camp. But these men said they had not seen the children and told the Paiutes to come into the house and search it; and this they did, as they thought, thoroughly. After a few days they sorrowfully gave up all search, and their relations had nearly given them up for dead.[8]

The young women would never have been found if chance had not led a young Numa to the Williams' station. The white men there liked his horse and offered to trade for it:

> They offered him a gun, five cans of powder, five boxes of caps, five bars of lead, and after some talk the trade was made. The men took the horse, put him in the stable and closed the door, then went into the house to give him the gun. They gave him the gun,

> powder and caps, but would not give him the lead, and because he would not take a part, he gave back what he had taken from them, and went out to the barn to take his horse. Then they set their dog upon him. When bitten by the dog he began halloing, and to his surprise he heard the children's voices answer him, and he knew at once it was the lost children. The Paiute made for his camp as fast as he could and told what had happened, and what he had heard. Humboldt Natchez and others went straight to the cabin of the Williams brothers. The father demanded the children.[9]

At first, when the father confronted the men at Williams' station, they insisted that they were innocent and claimed that they knew nothing of the missing girls. They denied that the trade had been unfair and argued that the dog had bitten the Indian only because he was a stranger. But the Numa refused to believe the whites' excuses, and finally, when one of them struck a white man, the frightened whites admitted that the young women were confined under a trap door in the barn floor.

> The father first peeped down, but could see nothing; then he went down and found his children lying on a little bed with their mouths tied up with rags. He tore the rags away and brought them up.[10]

When the Numa saw the young women, they could no longer contain their anger. They struck a white man and a struggle broke out. One of the traders ran to the river to escape, but drowned in his attempt. When one white man drew a knife, an Indian grabbed him from behind while other Numa broke his arm, forcing him to drop the knife. Then the Indians threw him to the ground, choking him to death.[11] A third man was also killed in the fight. Two traders hiding inside the station died when the Indians set fire to it. The revenge completed, Humboldt Natchez sent a messenger to camp at Pyramid Lake to tell the council what had taken place.[12]

Meanwhile, Numaga had ended his fast. He rose from the ground outside his *kahnee* (house) and walked painfully over to the council. He entered the circle, drank from a pitch-covered water jug, and began his last attempt to sway the council in favor of peace.[13] "Numaga had begun to make an impression in favor of a conference instead of a collision with the whites."[14] Drawing on the impression made by his fast, he spoke powerfully and urgently against hostility:

> From where is to come your guns, your powder, your lead, your dried meats to live upon, and hay to feed your ponies with while you're on this war. Your enemies have all of these things, more than they can use. They will come like the sand in a whirlwind and drive you from your homes. You will be forced among the barren rocks of the north, where your ponies will die; where you will see the women and old men starve, and listen to the cries of your children for food. I love my people: let them live; and when their spirits shall be called to the Great Camp in the southern sky, let their bones rest where their fathers were buried.[15]

As Numaga finished this final speech, a rider approached the council, pointed to the southeast, and reported the killing and burning that had taken place the night before. Receiving the message, "Numaga, with a sad look in the direction that the warrior had pointed, replied: 'There is no longer any use for council; we must prepare for war, for the soldiers will now come here to fight us.' "[16] Although Numaga still wanted to avoid war, he began making preparations for it, since conflict would be inevitable if the white man would not hear words of peace. Women, old people, and children were sent north to the safety of the Black Rock Desert. The men who remained behind organized defense plans.

The whites made preparations too. Volunteers were recruited: one hundred and five men from Genoa, Carson City, Silver City, and Virginia City gathered to march on the Numa. Although Major Ormsby, leader of the Carson City Rangers, is often spoken of as the commander of all the volunteers, the company actually had no main leader. Disorganized and undisciplined, the soldiers were ill-prepared to meet Numaga's men.[17]

Although "Numaga had a thousand men at his disposal,"[18] the hundred whites who marched against him were armed with rifles effective at a much greater range than the Indians' bows and arrows. While the Numa had obtained a few guns from the Bannocks, most of the Indians were armed with bows and arrows. Since men shooting rifles could inflict heavy damage with relatively little risk, numbers alone would not determine the battle.

The Numa chose a main camp which would compensate for this difference in weapons. The camp beneath Marble Bluff (in an area along the river near present-day Nixon) was covered with tall willows. These willows, from which the Paiutes made their *kahnees*,

baskets, and cradleboards, provided cover and concealment for the Indian forces on both sides of the river. Indian look-outs on high ground could easily follow the movements of the soldiers along the river bottom and warn the concealed forces of the cavalry's approach.[19]

The volunteers arrived after a three or four day march and camped near the mouth of the river on the west side. Scouts were sent out; when Indians were reported on the opposite banks, the troops crossed the river. A few scouts charged a small group of Indians, but the Indians fell back and the scouts returned to their party. Meanwhile, War Chief Numaga and some of the Numa stood on a hill watching the white soldiers. Numaga displayed a peace pipe with the ax head down to show that he and his people sought peace. But since the soldiers below, even with telescopic sights, could not distinguish the pipe of peace from the ax of war, Major Ormsby ordered his men to charge.[20]

The order was ill-considered: it led to the worst defeat ever suffered by whites in an Indian battle in Nevada Territory. Major Ormsby, in his eagerness to fight, failed to consider the terrain, the cover provided by the willows, and the difficulties of retreat. He sent his troops through a gauntlet; their only escape route led them back through the same deadly file of Numa.

When the volunteers rushed toward what seemed to be only a handful of Indians, Numaga made one last attempt to avoid conflict. He told his men to shoot the horses to halt the advancing whites, but the flying arrows only created panic, and soon the battle was out of control.[21] Gunshots echoed from the surrounding hills.[22] The white soldiers milled in terror, looking only for a way to escape. The Numa, filled with memories of wrongs suffered at the hands of whites, tried to inflict as much punishment as they could. The volunteers had their throats cut with their own swords. Trying to escape the deadly hand-to-hand combat, they forded the river in haste and many drowned.[23] Even those who crossed the river were not safe, for the Numa pursued the scattered retreating troops. Near present-day Nixon, they caught Major Ormsby. When the wounded man begged for his life, his captors told him it was too late to speak of such things.[24] One wounded officer who had fled

with the major buried himself alive in an old badger hole rather than face death at the hands of the Numa.[25]

Some of Ormsby's companions did manage to escape: "So the third man went on and crossed the river at about present day Derby Dam and on over the mountains toward Virginia City." [26] When the survivors reached the city several days later, their tale of the battle at Pyramid Lake spread panic throughout the territory. Many people, convinced the Indians were planning to attack, fled to the towns for safety. Frantic messages were sent to California for more troops to protect the citizens.[27] The first victory belonged to the Indians, who had conquered the white troops with few losses.[28] But panic among the citizens made further conflict inevitable; the whites would not feel secure until they had crushed the Numa and prevented any possibility of further uprisings.

After the battle, the Numa buried some of the soldiers. When Numa died, they ". . . could pick their own place of burial. The Indians would simply tell a friend or one of their family where they would like to be buried." [29] When a person died, all his belongings were buried with him.[30] Enemies, like the Pitt River Indians [31] and the white soldiers, were often buried in a circle or semi-circle. "The Paiutes also buried some of the soldiers under Marble Bluff in a circle. They buried them in a circle because of religious beliefs they had at that time." [32]

Soon the white man returned. California troops, responding to the pleas for help, approached Pyramid Lake from the south. Since they followed the river bottom, using the same route Major Ormsby's volunteers had taken, they faced the same military handicaps. When the soldiers reached Wadsworth, about eighteen miles away, Numa look-outs on Marble Bluff and the Virginia Peaks could spot their bayonets glittering in the sun.[33] The better-prepared California troops, however, watched carefully for traps like those Major Ormsby had encountered.

When the cavalry arrived, several skirmishes occurred. The first took place as the soldiers reached Dead Ox Canyon, where they met two Indians from Stillwater (near present-day Fallon) coming to Pyramid Lake to fish. The Pyramid Lake Numa were unable to warn the visitors in time and the soldiers killed the Stillwater Indians immediately.[34]

Numa stationed look-outs on the top of Marble Bluff, seen in the upper right in this photograph. From this point, look-outs could see as far as eighteen miles away. (Photograph from Native Nevadans, *courtesy of the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada).*

Meanwhile, a party led by Humboldt Natchez and White Wing (called Winnemucca Natchez by the whites) scanned the area from high ground. They held back, not firing until the whites shot at a small group of Indians below them. The soldiers later claimed that they had killed two hundred Indians in this encounter; actually there were few casualties on either side.[35]

Scattered fighting and cavalry pursuits continued after these engagements. The soldiers burned Numa homes and destroyed Numa property. Older Numa remember many incidents from these battles and the difficult times which followed them. The people, who could no longer travel in their land, kept look-outs on Marble Bluff to watch for intruders.

Often, the Numa had to flee from white soldiers. Some Indians were injured as they tried to escape. Numa still remember the story of one old man, who was shot below the ribs as he climbed a steep cliff after the cavalry's first assault. When he returned to consciousness, he pulled the rifle ball from the hole in his side. He bit off pieces of the ball, chewed them, spat them out, and rubbed the place where the ball had penetrated. Soon he recovered his senses and began his climb to safety again.[36]

In another assault, the cavalry suprised the Numa, who were having a social gathering below Marble Bluff. Most of the strong men were out hunting; the very old, the very young, and the women remained in the camp, gambling and relaxing. When the soldiers fired on the camp, many defenseless people were wounded:[37]

> Most of the Indian families went to the tules to hide, but one girl kept going and got shot in the back. A young man swam through the tules. They [soldiers] were shooting at him. He was zig-zagging and made it to where the rest of the Indians were. Ida Buffalo jumped in the lake when she seen the soldiers and swam through the tules and to an island and escaped that way. Bullets were flying all over in the tules, but nobody got hit. This lady had a baby on her back in a basket and her husband said not to say nothing, but her baby got shot and the baby cried out loud and so she left it there. They kept going until they reached a house owned by a man called Peacock. When they got there an old man was standing outside [Peacock]. The child was shot twice when they went back to check it.[38]

Others were killed climbing Marble Bluff as they tried to escape. Those who survived tried to reach Winnemucca Lake, where they felt they would be safe.

Meanwhile, the Indians watched from a distance as the soldiers established a temporary fort, called Fort Haven, below Marble Bluff. Finally, three Numa ventured into the fort to talk with the soldiers. They were well treated and told to speak with their people. Overton Natchez, who befriended the whites, promised the Numa that they would receive food and good treatment. As more and more Numa visited the fort, they found that they had been misled. The cavalry forgot their promises of peace and used the food and clothing to lure the Indians into an ambush.[39]

Old people came from Nugent (on the east side of the lake, near Gerlach) to obtain the food rations and clothes they had been promised.[40] The story of Maw Wee Abraham, who was six or eight years old at the time, illustrates what they found. As the boy rode toward the fort behind his father, he saw long red streaks flaring from guns. He tried to attract his parents' attention by biting his father's arm; finally, at a place known as Seven Mile, the mother and father stopped to see why their son was acting this way. They decided the boy was trying to warn them of an unknown danger.

The parents also knew their son had special powers no ordinary person possessed, because he could see things no one else saw. Knowing that danger was near, the father hid his wife, a small baby, and three young children in a deep cut in the mountain. As they covered themselves with sagebrush, the man bade them farewell and rode off with several other men. The next morning, this man, from a vantage point on a mountain, saw the ambush his son had warned him of.[41] A long line of mounted soldiers made dust fly. The people who waited along the river for food found that "instead of bread and butter, they were getting bullets."[42] Helpless people—the old, women, young children, and babies—were murdered.

The Numa men who had witnessed the slaughter from the mountain top were closely pursued. Soldiers' horses trampled among the hidden women and children. Some of the survivors managed to escape, retreating through the Winnemucca Lake area and returning to Nugent. Many remained hidden and silent during the day and tried to make their way to safety at night.[43]

Although "the Indian people did not want to give up their land, because they wanted the right to fish and hunt and live wherever they wanted,"[44] after the battle at Pyramid Lake the Numa could no longer roam freely. Some found themselves confined on reservations. Others moved under the watchful eyes of soldiers from the "first, largest and most important military establishment in Nevada,"[45] Fort Churchill, which was established on the "Big Bend" of the Carson River on July 13, 1860. This site enabled the soldiers to watch and control the Numa of Walker River, Fallon, and Pyramid Lake. "It served as a base of operations for the dispatch of troops throughout the state and into Owens Valley of California, and furnished patrols for protecting the overland route from the Sierra Nevada to Austin and Ruby Valley."[46] The Pony Express owners, ranchers, stagecoach operators, and settlers doubtless felt more secure when this fort was established at their request.[47]

The many stories the Numa remember and tell about the fort, however, describe an era of extreme mistrust and fear. Their memories of the soldiers who controlled their lands are not pleasant. "The Indians have to be very careful . . . real careful . . . they have to sneak to fish, everything, because if they see the Indians coming down from Pine Grove, walking . . . they would go after them and

lasso them or even fight. But, I know . . . my mother said it was bad." [48]

Nine years later, on September 9, 1869, Fort Churchill was abandoned, having "served its purpose by controlling the Indians of Central Nevada, protecting the settlements and patrolling the overland roads. When the railroad replaced the stagecoaches the presence of troops was no longer required." [49] Today, the fort is a state park and historic landmark. Its legacy, however, remains not only in ruins, but in the bitter memories of the older Numa.

Some Numa, surrounded by soldiers, unable to move freely in their own land, sought refuge in the mountains and deserts of Idaho and Oregon.[50] Other Numa, placed under military guard, were forced to march to Malheur Reservation, Oregon. An eighty year old Numa explained how the Indians were treated during the forced march. "They sent . . . most of the Pyramid Lake Indians, that is old folks. When they was driving them, they say they shoot them. Old men can't hardly make it. They shoot them along the road. That's how they treat us." [51] Those who survived the march to Malheur found that their agent was a scoundrel.[52] The next agent, Samuel Parrish, treated the Numa fairly. Sarah Winnemucca, who served as his interpreter, describes the period when the reservation was under his supervision as a happy one for her people. But Parrish was recalled in 1876,[53] and later agents were not so considerate of the Numa. Soon, starvation forced the Numa to leave the reservation. Some returned to Pyramid Lake; others joined their cousins, the Bannock Indians, and fought beside them in 1878.[54] When the battle ended, many Numa who had been in the area were forced to march to Yakima Reservation in southern Washington.

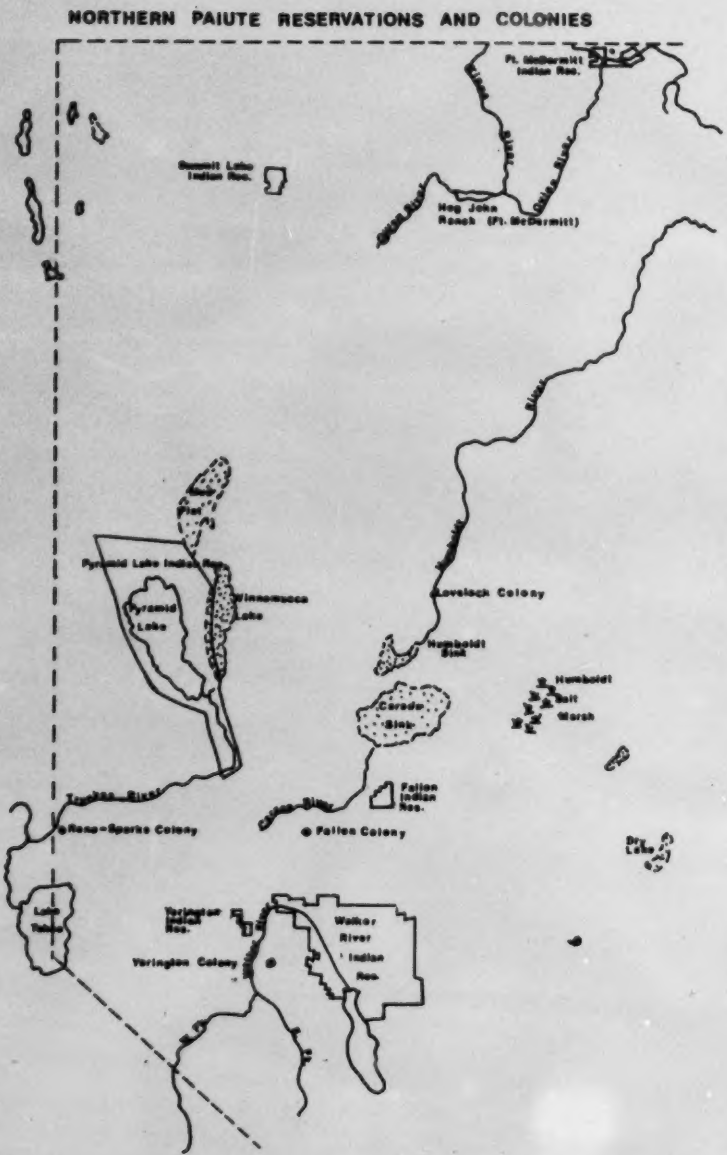
Those who had returned to the Pyramid Lake Reservation also found their rights abused. The reservation had been established to secure the Numa land at Pyramid Lake: "In 1859 the Commissioner of the General Land Office, [sic] had set aside the Pyramid Lake Reservation for the Paiutes who had always been there and for other Paiutes who came to join them, as white settlers encroached on the river bottoms and gold fields elsewhere in Nevada. The setting aside of the reservation gave the Paiutes priority rights as of 1859 to the water needed to maintain the lake and its fishery." [55] But between 1859 and 1874, when the reservation was federally rec-

oganized by President Grant's Executive Order, whites invaded the area and settled on the best reservation land. Frequently, Indian agents, more concerned with personal gain than the conditions of the Indians they were supposed to represent, allowed whites to take over the land and privileges granted by law to the Numa. Here, as in Oregon, one agent, Warren Wasson, stood up for Indian rights. But when Wasson left his post to become a United States Marshal, the Indians were once again without a spokesman.

As Numaga had predicted, the guns, the powder, the supplies, and the sheer numbers of the white men suppressed the Numa. Despite their gallant efforts, rifles and reservations robbed the Indians of their lives, their lands, their water, and their food. For the white man, the years following the Pyramid Lake War were a time of "peace," development, and settlement; for the Numa, these years brought increased hardship and diminished resources. Although the guns were silent, the fighting had not ended, for white settlers and reservations brought new challenges to the way of life the Numa had preserved for centuries.

The Reservations and Colonies

After the 1860 battle, the guns were silent; the white settlers who had occupied Numa lands were there to stay. The people could no longer roam freely in their homeland, hunting, fishing, and harvesting. Their traditional ways of life became more and more difficult to maintain. In the following years, reservations and colonies established by the government changed Numa's lives. In the nineteenth century, the government set aside most of the reservation lands. Whites were then allowed to settle on all land not included in reservaion boundaries. Colonies developed in the twentieth century, when many Numa were forced to leave the reservations to find jobs and support their families. The government labelled these Numa "homeless" and purchased small plots of land to provide permanent homes for them. Settled in these confined areas, the Numa began to adjust to the white society which had become dominant in their homeland. On the reservations and colonies, Numa groups met the problems of modern civilization. Under the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the tribal groups formed their own governments. These governments have helped the people find solutions to the many problems that the white invaders brought to their culture. Each group has a story to tell.


NORTHERN PAIUTE RESERVATIONS AND COLONIES
Summit Lake Indian Res.
Hog John Ranch (Ft. McDermitt)
Pyramid Lake
Pyramid Lake Indian Res.
Winnemucca Lake
Lovelock Colony
Humboldt Sink
Humboldt Salt Marsh
Carson Sink
Fallon Indian Res.
Reno-Sparks Colony
Fallon Colony
Walker River Indian Res.
Yerington Colony

Lovelock

The Numa who lived in the area near the present site of Lovelock, Nevada, called themselves *Koop Ticutta* (Ground Squirrel Eaters).[1] Like many other Numa groups, they took their name from the area's most abundant food. To force the squirrels out of their dens, the *Koop Ticutta* poured water down holes in the ground. When a squirrel appeared, the *Koop Ticutta* grabbed it behind the head, twisting and snapping its neck. With a quick movement of the wrist, the Numa gave the squirrel a painless death. The animal was cleaned, and, after its fur was singed off, placed under heated coals. A small fire kept the coals hot until the meat was cooked. Then the *Koop Ticutta* peeled away the outer skin and ate the squirrel.

One prominent feature in *Koop Ticutta* territory, a natural dam southwest of Lovelock, was built long before human beings existed. When *Itsa Pahtuma* (Coyote Dam) was created, animals spoke, thought, and acted like people. A coyote walking near present-day Wells, Nevada, spotted a trout swimming in the Humboldt River. After several attempts to snatch the fish, the coyote, who thought the trout would make a delicious meal, finally decided to build a dam across the river to trap it. As the trout swam downstream, the coyote ran ahead of him, trying to construct his dam. Because the river was so deep and swift, the dam did not hold and the fish swam away. The coyote ran on, building his dam time and time again, only to see it swept away by the river while the trout went free.[2] Finally, the coyote chased the fish to the river's end, where the water was shallow and less swift. There, at the site of the present dam, the coyote succeeded.[3]

The *Koop Ticutta* joined their neighbors for harvests, social gatherings, and defense against hostile groups. In November, they travelled to Winnemucca Lake for the annual mud-hen drive.[4] They also fought the *Numa Ticutta*.[5] The Numa did not know where these Indians, who were covered with red hair, came from. Since they had heard that the intruders ate human flesh,[6] the *Koop*

Ticutta named them *Numa Ticutta* (People Eaters).[7] The Numa forced the strangers into a cave and asked them to surrender. When they refused, the Numa piled sagebrush in front of the cave's entrance. The *Numa Ticutta,* still unwilling to give up, dragged the sagebrush in until it completely filled the cave. Then the Numa set fire to the brush, killing all the strangers.[8] When the *Cu Yui Ticutta* (Pyramid Lake) fought the Pitt River Indians, intruders who claimed the Pyramid Lake region, the *Koop Ticutta* joined their neighbors in several battles.[9]

The *Koop Ticutta* were probably the first Numa to encounter the white invaders. "It was in the Kupa territory that members of Walker's exploring party (1834), shot an Indian for the fun of seeing him fall, an event that was followed by a battle in which more than twenty others were slaughtered."[10] Like other Numa bands, the *Koop Ticutta,* angered by injustices suffered at the hands of these white intruders, joined in the Pyramid Lake war.[11]

As the whites invaded the area, the *Koop Ticutta* were forced to leave many of their ancestral homes. Often, white settlers who farmed the land eliminated the Numa's food sources. Jack rabbits, one of the *Koop Ticutta's* main foods, were considered a menace by the farmers. To destroy them, the white men put poison in some watering holes. On a trip to Summit Lake, the *Koop Ticutta* stopped to drink and fill their water jugs at one of the poisoned holes. Signs which white men had posted near the hole struck their curiosity. However, since the *Koop Ticutta* could not read the white man's language, the warnings meant nothing to them. As they continued their journey, many fell ill and died because the white men had not though it necessary to tell them that the water was poisoned.[12]

The Central Pacific Railroad, which reached Lovelock in August 1868,[13] brought many more white intruders to the area. Since the settlers had taken what little land the *Koop Ticutta* owned, the United States government and the Central Pacific Railroad Company gave the Numa a tract of land near the railroad line. Unfortunately, the leader of the band lost this tract gambling with white men. Once again the *Koop Ticutta* had no land.[14] They made their camps near Lovelock, but tried to stay away from the whites. Even so, they often had to move when a settler decided to take the land they occupied.

Soon, they had hardly any place left to go.

The white man intruded on the dead as well as the living. For many years, the *Koop Ticutta* had buried their dead throughout the area, but as more white men arrived, the Numa found that they had to hide the graves of their loved ones. A dead Numa's personal belongings were buried with him; the rest of his possessions were burned. When whites discovered this custom, they began to rummage the graves, taking the possessions of the dead. Because the whites had no respect for Numa dead, the *Koop Ticutta* hid their graves; eventually they buried all their dead in an area outside Lovelock which became the Indian Cemetery of Lovelock.[15]

As Sarah Winnemucca, a young Numa, had discovered, whites did not want their children to mix with the Numa. She established a day school which taught the English language to the Numa children. On November 1, 1907, the government bought two acres of land on the outskirts of Lovelock from William and Captolia Pitt. Mr. Pitt, a local politician, strongly opposed mixing Indian and white students in the same building;[16] thus, a separate school was to be established for the Numa. It was not until the late 1920's that a child from the Lovelock Colony was allowed to attend the Lovelock public school.

Despite white intrusions, the Numa preserved many of their customs. Numa still use the hoop *(cradleboard). (Courtesy of the Nevada Historical Society).*

The second Indian day school at Lovelock was run by the whites. The superintendent, Charles H. Allender, threatened the students constantly with the Carson Indian School: if they did not follow his instructions, they would be sent away to boarding school. When two young girls refused to go back to the Carson Indian School, he spoke of them as troublemakers who should be forced to return. The superintendent told Numa children that the boarding school was a reformatory and that all those who disobeyed him would be sent there.[17] The Office of Indian Affairs and the superintendent of the Carson Indian School disagreed: they stated that the Carson School would accept the girls only if their parents' consent was obtained. Finally, Mr. Allender agreed not to threaten Numa children with the Carson Indian School.[18]

On November 17, 1910, William and Captolia Pitt sold an additional eighteen acres to the government for three thousand dollars.[19] The Numa built homes on the twenty acres of land they had acquired. These homes, built with white tools and materials, no longer followed the pattern of the traditional *kahnee*. To earn money to buy the lumber and nails, the men worked on the ranches, while the women worked in white homes. Although the Numa were good farm workers, they had no land of their own. To support their families they had to work in the white community.

Water problems also bothered the Lovelock Numa, who had acquired water rights for 17.3 acres of the 20 they lived on. They were allowed 51.9 acre feet (or 3 feet per acre) a year.[20] The government also made a contract with the city of Lovelock, paying the city clerk $6 a month to supply drinking water to the colony. Since only a single pipeline with a faucet was installed, the families had to carry water in buckets to their homes. In 1934, three colony families started vegetable gardens to help reduce their living costs. Though all the gardens were small (one was only 15 feet by 150 feet), the city clerk claimed that the Indians were responsible for high water usage. Because the meters showed increased use, he claimed that he would have to raise the price of water from $6 to $60 a month.[21] At the time, no one remembered that the Indians had free water rights on the Southwest ditch. Three years later, when Mrs. Olfers, head of the Workers Program Administration for Northern Nevada, hired workmen to clear the ditch, it was

recognized that this water could be used to irrigate the Lovelock Colony gardens.[22]

Farmwork is still the main source of employment for the Lovelock Numa. Though some men work at the Eagle Pitcher Mine or in downtown Lovelock, most still work for local farmers. Most women work in the laundry or as maids in motels and white homes. Until the early 1970's, most Lovelock Numa still occupied houses built in the early 1900's which lacked any significant improvements. In the late 1960's the Housing and Urban Development Project granted funds to the Indians of Nevada, but it was ten years before the Lovelock Numa received any new housing. Sixteen houses were completed in 1973. Each applicant worked five hundred hours on the homes in lieu of cash down payments or closing costs. Some members of the Lovelock tribe were hired to assist the applicants. A second group of Self-Help Homes added ten more houses to the Lovelock Colony. Native American Construction Systems, a Nevada Indian construction company based at Fallon, was contracted to build the homes. The applicants, who worked as laborers for N.A.C.S., were paid as skilled workers on paper, but received no money.[23]

Today, the colony belongs to the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada. Each of their five council members serves a two-year term on the council, which meets at the Tribal Community Building on the second Wednesday of each month. On March 14, 1968, the colony adopted the Indian Reorganization Act Constitution and By-laws and the tribal government was approved by Congress.[24]

Before their culture was disrupted by the white man, the *Koop Ticutta* hunted and harvested peacefully. Today, that life is no longer possible. History has changed the lives and lands of the Numa. Now, members of the Lovelock Colony hope to create a new way of life for their people.

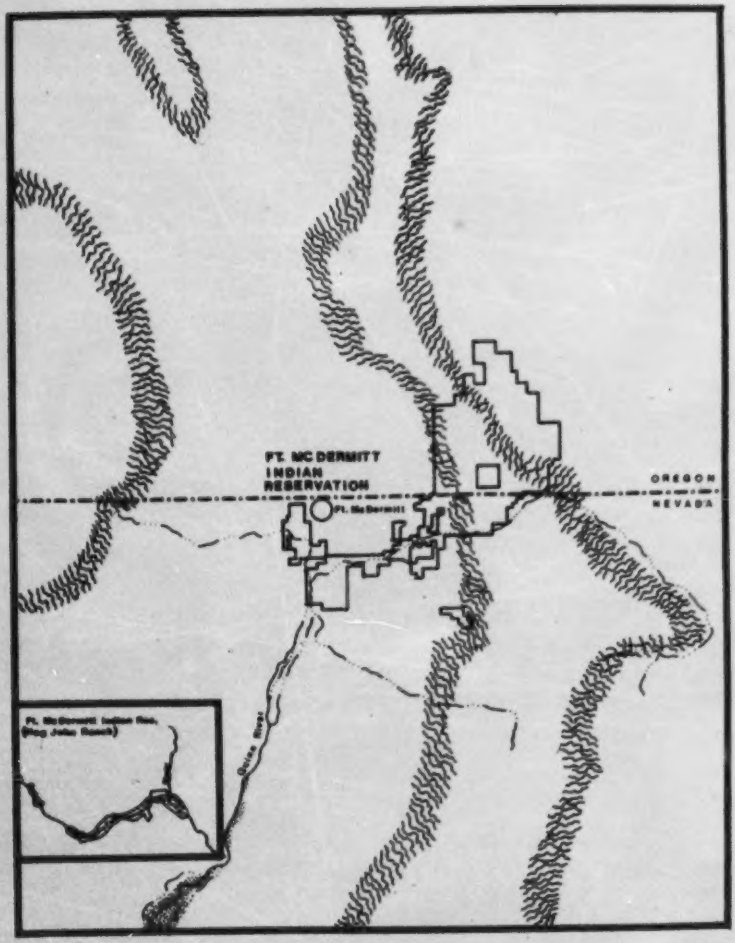
McDermitt

The ancestors of those Numa who presently occupy the Fort McDermitt Indian Reservation roamed northern Nevada and southern Oregon. They inhabited a number of areas, including the Quinn River Valley, Paradise Valley, Steen Mountain, Hog John (also known as *Pa-moo-seh,* which means "muskrat"), and the area beneath the Humboldt River near the present location of Winnemucca. As the seasons changed, the Numa moved from place to place to gather food.[1]

Four different names referred to the Numa in these areas. Numa groups living near Fort McDermitt were known as the *Qui na taue Pha Numa* (Smoke Valley People)[2] and as the *Atsakudokwa Tuviwa ga yu* (Red Butte Dwellers). The *Yamosopu Tuviwa ga yu* (Half Moon Valley Dwellers) occupied Paradise Valley until they were moved to the Fort McDermitt Reservation. The *Udsusuda Tuviwa ga yu* (Cold Dwellers) inhabited the Steen Mountain area of southern Oregon.[3]

The first intruders these Numa met were travellers crossing the Nevada border into Oregon and Idaho. Soon, a mail route was established in the area and squatters began to settle. In 1860, because Numa had attacked the strangers in their land, the whites set up Quinn River Camp Number Thirty-Three. The camp protected white travellers, settlers, and the mail route. It also helped the soldiers control the Numa in the area. In 1865, the camp was renamed Fort McDermitt in honor of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles McDermitt, who had been killed August seventh by the Numa. Fort McDermitt served as a base of operations and supply station for soldiers during the Modoc Lava Beds campaign (1866–1868) and the Bannock and Paiute uprising of 1878.[4]

The Bannock and Paiute War of 1878 changed the lives of the Numa in the area, many of whom were rounded up, held as prisoners, and forced to march to the Yakima Indian Agency in southern Washington. Those who were taken prisoner had not necessarily participated in the uprising; the whites were not certain which


FT. McDERMITT
INDIAN
RESERVATION
OREGON
NEVADA

Numa had fought in the battle and often deported innocent people. In 1881, George B. Sanford explained the situation of one such man in a letter to the Adjutant General:

> Lee [Lee Winnemucca] states that shortly after the close of the Bannock War in 1878, he was sent from McDermitt with over three hundred other Paiutes to Yakima Agency. These Indians belonged principally to the bands of Oitz and Leggins and seem to have been selected according to his statement indiscriminately from the friendly and hostile members of his tribe. Lee himself and all his family had remained faithful to the government during the war and had rendered various services—notably his wife, Mattie, having acted as a guide to Genl. Howard during nearly the whole campaign. Nevertheless, they were held as prisoners, and sent off to Yakima, where they have been ever since.[5]

Some Numa had advance warning that people were to be rounded up. Sarah Winnemucca, who worked as an interpreter at the end of the war, knew that the soldiers were preparing to collect the people and transfer them to Yakima. She warned some people, including Pah-ve-zo, who fled to the Steen Mountain area and avoided capture.[6]

The march to Yakima was a nightmare for the prisoners, most of whom were forced to walk approximately four hundred miles. There were no wagons or horses for the Numa; they were literally herded to the Yakima agency. The slower members of the group—children, the old, and the sick—eventually fell behind; if they could not keep up, they were shot by the soldiers. White soldiers also abused many Numa women. No stopping was permitted while the group moved; the Numa were not allowed to go to the bathroom or rest while the party travelled. No one helped the Numa as they struggled to survive the cruel march.[7]

When they arrived at Yakima, they found the treatment there no better. A letter from George B. Sanford to the Adjutant General, which included information obtained by Natchez from Lee Winnemucca, described the conditions there:

> Lee states that nearly one hundred have died during the three years they have been there, and that they are all anxious to return . . . The climate at Yakima is said to be very damp and cold while the issues of provisions are small . . . with occasionally a very little

> beef—not enough to last one family a day—and that was so young as to afford scarcely any nutrition.
>
> He states that the Agent Father Wilbur told them that this year he would issue nothing. He says that the Pi-Utes would have been glad to learn to farm but that no land was given to them for the purpose—that they had no arms to hunt with and that the Yakima Indians stole all their ponies.[8]

The Numa, suffering from hunger and poor treatment, felt that they had been sent to Yakima unjustly. They tried constantly to obtain permission to return to McDermitt, sending many letters to people in authority. Natchez, a Numa leader, talked several times to people he thought might help them obtain permission to leave.[9]

In the summer of 1882, the prisoners attempted to escape. After they had obtained permission to fish at the Tumwater Fishery, they sold their horses and valuables to raise money for the ferryboat fee across the Columbia River into Nevada. As they crossed the river, word reached the head of the Yakima Agency, Agent Wilbur, who sent his clerk to stop them. Most of the people were returned to the agency, though about twenty who had a head start managed to escape and return to Nevada.[10]

By the summer of 1883, most Numa were convinced that they had the right to leave. Agent Milroy, who was in charge of Yakima at the time, explained the situation in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

> Oitz tells me, that after receiving the letter from Lee Winnemucca, mentioned in my letter of the 8th instant, Leggins, and some of his head men visited Yakima City to consult with a Boston Tyee (white chief) and that this Tyee (whose name I am unable to learn), told them that they had an undoubted right to go, and that the Agent at Yakima Agency was deceiving them. . . . All, except bands of Oitz and Paddy, who number about sixty or seventy have left and are making their way towards Nevada, as rapidly as possible. Their friends in Nevada have written them so often, to believe nothing the Agent at Yakima might tell them—that the commanding general in San Francisco said they had the right to return to their country and that they are fully satisfied that they are detained at Yakima solely by the unauthorized will of the agent. They are so firmly persuaded that the military sympathize with, and are disposed to assist them to escape.[11]

So the Numa decided to leave without giving notice to the agent. Apparently the federal government did not oppose the move, since the people returned to Nevada and no one, except Agent Milroy, tried to force them back to Yakima.

When they arrived in Nevada, the Numa dispersed in three directions. Many of them returned to places in the Fort McDermitt area that they had occupied before they went to Yakima. Others travelled toward the Duck Valley region, where they eventually established a Shoshone-Paiute culture which drew other Numa to the area. Some made their way to Pyramid Lake and settled there.

During the 1880's, Fort McDermitt was abandoned, since those in charge decided that it had served its purpose. The 3,945.6 acres which had formed the military post were opened for settlement until 1889. The land unclaimed in that year was designated public domain by Executive Order; title to it was given to the Secretary of the Interior to establish an Indian reservation.[12] Three years later, this land was allotted to head members of 33 families and 2 men without families. In all 80 allotments, each containing approximately 80 acres, were made. The Special Alloting Agent, Michael Piggot, described the process in a letter written November 26, 1892: "The heads of families are arranged on each side of the river. This was done by numbering the lots, then placing the numbers in a hat held by their head men. When I called a name from a list previously made of heads of families reading from the bottom up, the Indians drew a number from the hat. The name called received the land called for by the number, thus, no partiality was shown and all appeared satisfied." [13]

By the next year, problems in the allotments were clear. Sixty four allotments had been made properly on both sides of the river. In these allotments, nine people controlled all the tillable land which could be irrigated. Fifty six allotments were located in places where water was inaccessible. The Numa, who could not farm successfully without water, were frustrated by the situation. H.F. Ross, Custodian and Farmer-in-Charge, described their problems in a letter to the Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners: "I have shown the Indians their farms as near as I could without the aid of a surveyor and they are very much discouraged and have asked me to do all in my power to get a readjustment. If the land

could be alloted by lot, (that is give each Indian a portion of tillable land), it would give general satisfaction." Ross went on to explain that the Numa had only consented to Colonel Piggot's methods because the alloting agent told them that if they would not accept his system, they would not receive land.[14]

Nearly 10 years after the first allotments, the federal government finally took action on these and similar complaints. In the fall of 1903, land was reallotted.[15] The Numa, however, needed more land than the allotments provided. By 1910, 345 Indians on the reservation held only 300 acres of irrigable land. They were unable to raise enough food on this land to support themselves through the winter. Often they were threatened by starvation.[16]

Under the authority of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934, the federal government purchased land for farming, growing hay, and grazing. The following lands were added to the original allotments: The Giacometto Ranch, 1,554.35 acres purchased November 16, 1936; the Hog John Ranch, 3,542.40 acres purchased November 9, 1940; 1,240 acres purchased from Juan Jaca, July 18,

Although their parents were from Paradise Valley, these children grew up on the McDermitt Reservation. Front, left to right: Joe Pete, Dewey Garfield, Perry Wasson, and Brady George. Standing, left to right: Arthur Horn, Floyd Crutcher, Ralph Garfield, Lester Hinkey, Snider Brown, and Ben Crutcher. (Courtesy of the Nevada Historical Society).

1941; the Hearn Ranch, 3,919.37 acres purchased February 24, 1943; 499.92 acres purchased from the Henry McCleary Timber Company, June 16, 1944; and 169 acres of tribal fee patent land purchased February 3, 1956.[17]

The water rights of the Fort McDermitt Reservation date back to the construction of the fort in 1865. Additional water rights were acquired with the new lands. The following water rights from McDermitt Creek were purchased with the Giacometto Ranch:

PRIORITY	FEET PER SECOND
1892	8.43
1893	4.93
1894	3.43
1902	4.57
1907	.57
1908	1.35
Total	23.28

Water rights from the Quinn River were also obtained with the Hog John Ranch:[18]

PRIORITY	FEET PER SECOND
1874	16.44
1887	6.29
1901	5.36
Total	28.09

The allotments apparently did not serve the purposes intended. On April 20, 1949, and May 9, 1957, most people who owned the allotments gave up their titles. The 3,900.19 acres they released were added to existing tribal lands on May 16, 1957. On April 4, 1960, the federal government transferred 160 acres of land formerly included under the Bureau of Land Management to the Numa.[19]

Today the Fort McDermitt Reservation extends across northwestern Humboldt County, Nevada, into Malheur County in southeastern Oregon. The Nevada area contains 16,354.53 acres of tribal land, 145 acres of alloted land, and 160 acres of tribal fee land. An additional 18,828.79 acres in southeastern Oregon also belong to the reservation.[20]

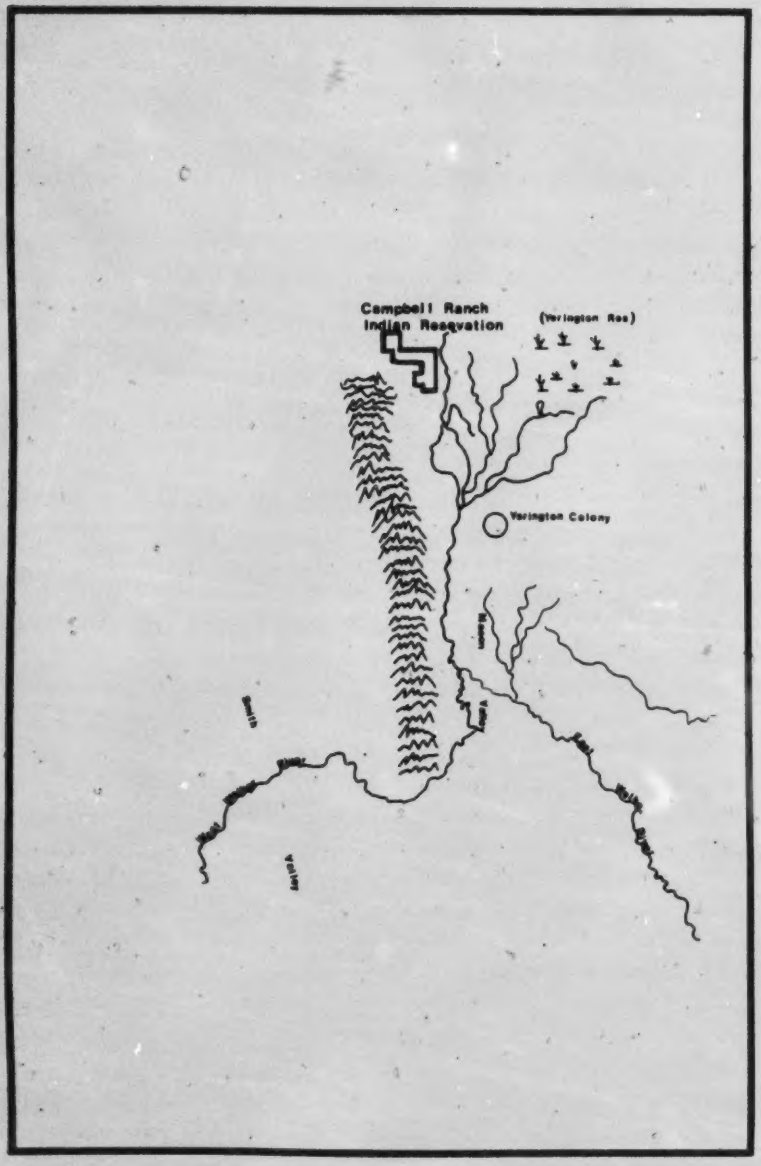
On this land, the Numa, whose ancestors hunted and harvested long before the white man came, try to find a place in contemporary society. Like other Numa groups, their future holds many questions, their history many disappointments. Today, they try to shape that future, remembering who they are and what they have done.

Mason and Smith Valleys

Three Numa groups inhabited this area before the white man arrived. The *Kamu Ticutta* (Rabbit Eaters) lived near present-day Campbell Ranch, about five miles north of Yerington. The *Tobusi Ticutta* (Bulb Eaters) lived along the East and West Forks of Walker River, largely in the area near Wellington. The *Poo-zi Ticutta* (Bulb Eaters) lived in the Desert Creek area. As the seasons changed, these groups moved about the area to gather food. In the fall, they travelled to mountain camps at Sweetwater, Pine Grove and Mt. Grant to collect ripe pine nuts. During the summer they gathered in Smith and Mason Valleys, harvesting food on the plains. Many also travelled to Walker Lake, Desert Creek, and nearby rivers to fish.[1]

The first white men who came to their land were travellers, heading south to the gold fields in California and later to those in Nevada near Aurora and Virginia City. Many whites bound for Aurora crossed the Wassuk Mountains near present-day Strosnider Ranch and passed through the southern part of Mason Valley.[2]

After a time, the intruders no longer passed through the area; instead they came to stay in its rich valleys. The valleys were named after Smith and Mason, who arrived in the late 1850's and squatted on this land. Early white settlers saw the rich wild grasses growing along the forks of the Walker River and decided to establish farms and ranches in this fertile land.[3] The Numa soon felt the effects of these invaders. The ranchers' cattle ate plants the Indians had depended on for food; miners cut down abundant pine forests to provide timber for the mines; and farmers and ranchers blocked the streams. The fish, which had been an important Numa food source, could no longer swim in these obstructed streams.[4] The whites also brought many new and strange diseases, including smallpox, to which the Numa had little resistance. The Numa treated these illnesses with traditional medicines like *sa wa bai* (sagebrush). The treatment sometimes reduced the suffering, but did not cure the white's man's diseases, from which many Numa died.[5]


Campbell Ranch
Indian Reservation
(Yerington Res)
Yerington Colony

As settlers became more numerous, the Numa grew familiar with their ways. Many Numa, whose land and food supply had been taken by the whites, began to work for them. Men and women took jobs cooking, washing, cutting wood, and harvesting crops for the intruders. Sometimes the Numa worked only for something to eat; at other times they were paid fifty cents a day for their labor.[6]

The Carson and Colorado Railroad, built through the northern end of Mason Valley in 1880, brought many changes to the Numa. Some boarded the train at the Wabuska station and travelled into California, Oregon, and Washington to pick hops and other farm crops.[7] The railroad also brought Chinese laborers into the area; these men, who worked on the tracks, introduced opium to the Numa. Many Numa, exhausted by hard work on farms, ranches, and potato fields, used opium to ease their tired backs and sore muscles. Unfortunately, many became addicted to the drug, which disrupted family life and brought early death to those who used it.[8]

By the turn of the century, many townships and settlements had been established in the Mason and Smith Valleys. Like the whites, the Numa tended to cluster in certain areas. The Numa ". . . settled near the ranches where they secured seasonal or permanent work; on the outskirts of the three towns, Wellington, Yerington and Mason; and near the railroad stop, Wabuska. In Smith Valley, with the exception of those living near Wellington, Indian settlements were scattered throughout the valley."[9]

In the late nineteenth century, the whites decided to "civiliz" the Numa. Often whites separated Numa children from their parents and sent them to schools which taught the white man's culture and language. Boarding schools, including the Nixon Indian Boarding School (1883) and the Carson Indian Boarding School (1890), were established. Some young Numa also attended public schools. Many young Numa placed in the schools lost contact with their parents, the older generation, and the traditional ways of their people. However, while the schools disrupted tradition, they also provided some necessary tools to help the Numa survive in a land that had suddenly turned against them.

A famous Numa also helped his people deal with the changes in their land. Wovoka, the Ghost Dance prophet, was born in Smith Valley in 1856. Later he moved with his family to the David Wilson

ranch in southern Mason Valley.[10] Wovoka received his name, Wa-gúd, which means "wood-cutter," because his family gathered and cut wood for the Wilsons.[11] When Wa-gúd was translated into English, it was spelled and pronounced "Wovoka."[12] The boy, who was given the English name Jack Wilson, played with the family's sons and joined them in daily prayers and Bible readings.[13]

Wovoka's father, Numa Taibo (White-Indian), a doctor and a vision seeker among his people, followed Wodziwob, who had originated the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Walker River Reservation.[14] Both his father's influence and the Wilson family's Bible readings probably inspired Wovoka's beliefs and prompted him to become a vision-seeker.

Wovoka received special power and wisdom from *Numanah;* he told James Mooney that he had been taken up to the other world and given his powers:

> He saw God with all the people who had died long ago engaged in their old time sports and occupations, all happy and forever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game. After showing him all, God told him he must go back and tell his people that they must be good, and love one another, have no quarreling and live in peace with the whites; that they must work and not lie or steal; that they must put away all the old practices that savored of war; that if they faithfully obeyed his instructions, they would at last be reunited with their friends in this other world where there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was then given the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing the dance at intervals, for five successive days each time, they would secure this happiness to themselves and hasten the event. Finally, God gave him control over the elements so that he could make it rain, snow, or be dry at will, and appointed him to be his deputy and to take charge of the affairs in the west. . .[15]

On several occasions, Wovoka demonstrated the power *Numanah* had given him over the elements. Once, near Circle in Smith Valley, he passed some men pitching hay for a rancher. When these men made fun of him, saying, "There goes the rain-maker," Wovoka answered by demonstrating his ability: he made it rain so hard in the spot where they were working that no one could travel through the area.[16] Another time Wovoka used his power to help a white farmer: "Once a white farmer in the vicinity of Yerington,

who was depending on rain rather than using irrigation, found his crops burning up and went to Wovoka. Wovoka made it rain on just the man's farm, and his crops were saved. This same man had a neighbor whom he disliked; he asked Wovoka if he could make the neighbor's crops burn. Wovoka told him he was able to, but would not do it."[17] James Mooney, who investigated Wovoka's activities, reported: "From his uncle I learned that Wovoka has five songs for making it rain, the first of which brings on a mist or a cloud, the second a snowfall, the third a shower and the fourth a hard rain or storm, while when he sings the fifth song, the weather again becomes clear."[18]

Wovoka also had powers to heal wounds and cure illnesses. When Wovoka laid his hand on the afflicted area, the illness was transferred through his hand to his body. After the ceremony, Wovoka concentrated the sickness in his mouth and spat it out. While he treated the sick person, Wovoka sang five songs, as he did to control the weather. Each of the songs was sung only once; they were not repeated, as many people have believed.[19]

Wovoka, a prominent Numa figure between 1870 and 1932, used his powers to control the weather and heal the sick. He is best remembered, however, as the initiator of the 1889 Ghost Dance. (Courtesy of the National Archives).

Some people claim that Wovoka was invulnerable to bullets. Frank Quinn, a life-time resident of the Yerington area, recalls an incident that took place while Wovoka participated in a rabbit drive. Someone shot at him, intending to kill him. When he was hit, he threw his hands in the air and screamed, "Boys, I have been shot!" He asked for a handkerchief, put it on the ground, unbuckled his belt, pulled out his shirt, took off his shoes, and laid the clothes on the ground beside him. As he took off his shirt, those with him saw that it was filled with holes; his body was covered with red spots where he had been hit. Wovoka shook himself, causing the pellets to fall to the ground. He picked them up, wrapped them in the handkerchief and passed them around for the men to see. As Frank Quinn commented, "If it was just an ordinary man, he would be a dead man." [20]

Stories of Wovoka's powers soon spread among the tribes of the western United States. Representatives from many tribes, including the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Bannock, Shoshone, and Sioux, attended the dances Wovoka held in the late 1880's and early 1890's.[21] Much controversy centers on what Wovoka told these representatives, and particularly what he said to the Sioux, who spread many tales about him. They said that Wovoka "claimed to be the Christ returned to save the Indians, that dancing the Ghost Dance would hasten the return of the dead, and that if the Indians wore Ghost Dance shirts they would be invulnerable to the white man's bullets." [22] Dee Brown and Martin F. Schmitt suggested that the Sioux may have distorted Wovoka's message: "The Sioux accepted the Ghost Dance religion with more fervor than any of the Indians. On their return to the Dakota reservations, each delegate tried to outdo the other describing the wonders of the Messiah. He came down from heaven in a cloud, they said. He showed them a vision of all nations of Indians coming home. The earth would be covered with dust and then a new earth would come upon the old. They must use the sacred red and white paint and the sacred grass to make the vanished buffalo return in great herds." Brown and Schmitt also described the way the Sioux adapted Wovoka's dance: "In the spring of 1890, the Sioux began dancing the Ghost Dance at Pine Ridge, adding new symbols to Wovoka's original ceremony. By June, they were wearing Ghost shirts made of cotton cloth painted blue around the necks, with

bright colored thunder birds, bows and arrows, suns, moons, and stars emblazened upon them." [23]

Wovoka's words were not always accepted; like any religious leader he was doubted by some of his people. At one time, Josephus, the head of the Walker River Reservation Police, informed the Farmer-in-Charge, "that there are several Indians coming over from Wadsworth to kill Jack Wilson, the Messiah. The names of the Indians are: Natches, Lee Winnemucca, one Indian from Quinn River, name unknown, one from the sink of the Carson named Johnson. Also, one from Humboldt named Humboldt Natches." [24]

Although some Numa were skeptical about Wovoka's supernatural powers, Indians throughout the United States and Canada practiced the sacred Ghost Dance and Wovoka gained a national reputation. As he travelled through the country, the people he met presented gifts, including moccasins, beadwork, shawls, and money, to him. He returned the courtesy by giving them blessed red paint and eagle feathers which were sacred to the Numa.[25]

Wovoka lived most of his life as an Indian doctor in the Mason Valley area.[26] In 1876, he married a woman named Mary, with whom he had several children. All of his sons died as infants or small children. Only his daughter, the late Mrs. Alice Vidovich, reached adulthood.[27] When Colonel Tim McCoy visited Wovoka in 1926, the leader, who was then about seventy, "seemed robust and at least twenty years younger. He talked readily of the Ghost Dance religion, and of the great visits he once had with the tribal leaders from the east. He still talked of the coming millenium, in which the Indian would be given a new earth to dwell upon. He still emphatically declared that he visited God, and had talked to him. And he appeared to have the impression that he would never die." [28] This last statement, like many recorded at meetings with Wovoka, is open to several interpretations: the leader could have meant either that he was destined to live forever in another world or that he believed he would live forever on this earth. Wovoka died on September 20, 1932, in his house at Yerington; he was buried at Schurz after funeral services.[29] Although some conflicts have developed over interpretations of his words, many Numa remember him as a truly great man. His concern for others impressed many people: "To him, the old people were his grandparents, those his age were

his brothers and sisters, and the young were his grandchildren . . . This was how he thought." [30] His words offered hope to the Numa, who found their land and their lives changed suddenly by the white settlers.

As time went on, the Numa found themselves less free to move throughout their lands. Finally, with the Act of May 18, 1916, the first steps were taken to establish Yerington Reservation. The following year, 9.456 acres of land were purchased from the Bovard family to create Yerington Colony. This land, for which the Bureau of Indian Affairs paid $1,025.64, was intended to provide homes for the Numa in the Mason and Smith Valley area.[31] When the Numa were relocated near the city limits in the southwest part of Yerington, many objected to the fenced perimeter. Remembering the time when they had been free to build their homes wherever they wished, they resented being forced to live within the confines of a ten-acre colony. Eventually, however, most came to accept the colony as their home since it was the only land available to them.

In the twentieth century, many Numa found themselves confined to small plots of land known as colonies. These homes were built on the Yerington Colony, which was established in 1917. (Courtesy of the National Archives).

Campbell Ranch, which forms the second part of the reservation, was purchased later to provide homes for 30 landless Nevada Indian families. These Numa, threatened with eviction from the farms and ranches they worked on, were considered squatters on land that had always been theirs.[32] Money for the 1,108.11 acre ranch was authorized by the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934.[33] Authority to purchase the land was granted on December 10, 1936, and the area was bought for $25,000 from the Farmer's Bank of Carson Valley.[34] In 1941, 120 acres adjacent to the ranch were purchased, bringing the total area of Campbell Ranch to approximately 1,040 acres. The government hoped that this land would enable the Numa to make economic progress.[35]

Water rights were also purchased with the land. Decreed water rights, based on priority, were as follows:

PRIORITY	SECOND FEET
1864	.397
1865	.158
1870	.604
1875	1.239
1880	1.665
1885	1.058
1890	.740
1895	.492
1900	.953
1905	1.271
Total	8.577

Campbell Ranch also received 805.21 acre feet of water apportioned for storage. The Campbell irrigation canal delivers water to the area; other lateral ditches carry it to the tracts under cultivation.[36]

Irrigation figures and records from the Bureau of Indian Affairs indicate the history of farming on the ranch. In 1954 approximately 400 acres were irrigated; in 1959 the figure declined to 260 acres; in 1970 the figure increased to 434 acres. As the figures show, the Indian people lost interest in farming in the late 1950's and early 1960's because farming didn't provide a sufficient income. In the late 1960's, conditions improved and cultivation was renewed.

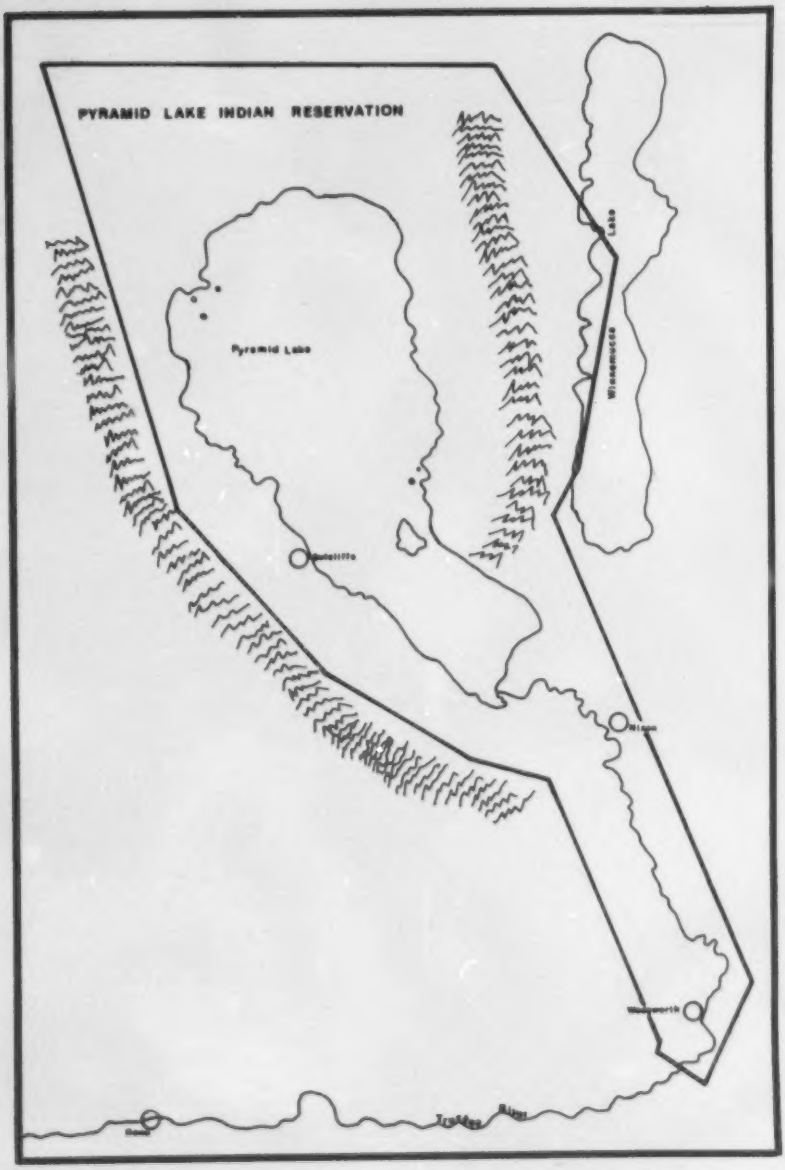
In the early years, most water was used for pasture lands. Later, alfalfa became the dominant crop. Although wheat and barley have been raised sporadically since the ranch was purchased, they have never been major crops.[37]

For the Mason Valley and Yerington people, as for other groups of Numa, white civilization has brought many changes. The people no longer wander freely through unfenced lands, maintaining traditional ways of life. Today, the people whose ancestors were the *Kamu Ticutta,* the *Poo-zi Ticutta,* and the *Tobusi Ticutta* face the challenges of the twentieth century.

Pyramid Lake

The Pyramid Lake Numa teach their children to respect Pyramid Lake, which will be the center of their lives. The young learn never to treat it casually, ignore its power, or forget that it is sacred. As one woman said, "I used to tell my children, when you go to the Lake, bless the water first. Wash your face with the water, then you can swim in the Lake. This is what I have taught my children."[1] Legends teach the Numa the fate of those who do not show the proper respect. Once, two young men, about twenty years old, went to Pyramid Lake to fish. After they prepared their gear, they swam toward several large rocks where they planned to fish. As they swam, one of them began to joke, saying, "What would you do if a big monster swam toward us?" The other boy, displeased with his friend's arrogant talk, swam to shore, leaving his friend behind. Suddenly he saw a huge monster with a large head swim toward his friend, grab his line, and pull him under the water. Three times the boy came up, three times he went down. His friend ran to camp, told what had happened, and asked for help. A party returned to look for the boy, but they found no trace of him. Later, when his body was discovered, nothing remained but the head, arms, and shoulders. It was said that the monster must have swallowed him feet first, until his arms stuck in its mouth. Pyramid Lake's power, though fatal to those who disregarded it, also provided benefits for the Numa. Medicine men received visions and dreams from Pyramid Lake which gave them power to help their people.[2]

Pyramid Lake also provided abundant fish for the *Cu Yui Ticutta* (Cu Yui Eaters), who were named after a fish native only to Pyramid Lake. Each year, these Numa watched the small round growths at the base of the cottonwood leaves. When the balls turned from green to yellow in April or early May, the *cu yui* travelled up the Truckee River to spawn, reaching the area of present-day Reno, Nevada. The first *cu yui* sighted each year were dark gray; later, the fish were lighter gray, and some had a red strip on their sides; the last of the spawning fish had large lumps near their tails.


PYRAMID LAKE INDIAN RESERVATION
Pyramid Lake
Lake
Wadsworth
Nixon
Truckee River

When these had gone, no *cu yui* would be seen until the following year.[3]

Once caught, the *cu yui* were prepared and dried like other fish so that the families would have enough food for the winter months. The whole family participated in the fishing. The men snagged the *cu yui,* which could not be caught with bait. When they brought the catch to shore, women and young children clubbed the fish on the head with sticks, killed them, and prepared them for eating or drying.[4]

The *cu yui* shared Pyramid Lake with many other fish, including the Lahontan cutthroat trout, which travelled up the Truckee River to Lake Tahoe to spawn. From the earliest times to the reservation days, fishing brought security, wealth, and prestige to the *Cu Yui Ticutta.* In early times, the Pitt River Indians challenged the Numa for control of the Lake. These intruders claimed the northern part of Pyramid Lake as far as the area of present-day Sutcliff, Nevada.[5] Unlike the *Cu Yui Ticutta,* the Pitt River Indians fished only several weeks a year at Pyramid Lake. Their intrusion and ownership claims, however, led to many conflicts.[6]

Originally, the battles were fought with bows and flint-headed arrows, but the Pitt River Indians discovered that tightly woven grass breastplates would stop the flint arrowheads. When the Numa found that their arrows shattered or bounced off harmlessly, they began to use greasewood arrows. Using this hard wood, they fashioned a slender point about three inches long and a quarter of an inch wide, which could easily penetrate the grass breastplates.[7]

Stories are still told of these battles. One, fought on the northeast end of Pyramid Lake near the Needles, began when a scout reported Pitt River Indians fishing. Women and children in the party, which had been travelling toward the south end of Pyramid Lake, were sent around the Pitt River camp. When the women and children were out of danger, the men approached the strangers. A man beckoned to the Numa, who were puzzled by the gesture and decided to fight.[8] During the conflict, "when the arrows all flew towards the enemies, the arrows sounded like sand being thrown on the water."[9] After the battle, the Numa buried the Pitt River leader and many members of his band in a semi-circle along the shore between two rocks. The Numa drew faces on the rocks to show where they were

buried, calling this place, "Where the people are lying." After another battle on the east shore of the Lake, the Numa threw some Pitt River Indians' bodies in a deep crack in a nearby rock. Years later, Numa fishermen camping in the area saw a large fire and a group of Indians dancing, singing and conversing in the Pitt River language. The next morning when the Numa investigated, however, they found no footprints in the sand and no evidence of a fire.[10]

The next intruders in *Cu Yui Ticutta* land were the whites; in January 1844, John Charles Fremont arrived at Pyramid Lake. Numa there offered food and hospitality to his party, assuring him that there was no danger in their camp. They also gave him the information he needed to guide his party through the Sierra Nevadas. Many other whites followed Fremont; some *Cu Yui Ticutta,* angered at this intrusion in their land, stole or chased stock away from the whites' wagons. One Numa, called Pancho by the whites, was concerned about the whites' encroachment and did what he could to prevent them from crossing Numa land. When Fremont returned through the area, he abducted Pancho, who had been labeled a troublemaker. Fremont forced Pancho and his brothers to guide him to California.[11] While they were there, the Mexican War broke out; Pancho, who was still with Fremont, served in that war. Thirty years later, Pancho was awarded the National Association of Veterans Medal for his service.[12]

As more whites entered the area, the *Cu Yui Ticutta,* like other Indians, encountered problems with their lands. At Pyramid Lake, as elsewhere, the government established reservation land for the people. On November 26, 1859, the Indian Agent for the Utah Territory suggested to Secretary Thompson that land be set aside "for Indian purposes" in the northwestern section of the Truckee River Valley. Replying to this request, the General Land Office, on December 8, 1859, ordered "the Surveyor-General of Utah Territory to reserve for Indian purposes a tract of land on the northwestern portion of the valley of the Truckee River, including Pyramid Lake." Two years later, on November 11, 1861, the Surveyor-General Land Office ordered that the land set aside for Indian use be withdrawn from sale and settlement.[13]

In the following years, reservation boundaries often became a source of contention. On April 20, 1864, the Indian office asked that

the boundaries of Pyramid Lake be surveyed; the survey was carried out by Eugene Monroe in January 1865. Although the boundaries were established, whites who wanted the fertile land continued to press for this reservation acreage.[14] James W. Nye and others asked the Secretary of the Interior to release the Great Bend, an area on the Truckee River in the southern part of the reservation, for white settlement.[15] The Numa, however, did not want to relinquish any part of their lands to the whites.[16] But despite Numa objections, whites began to squat on Indian lands, taking the best sections of the reservation. They forced the Numa, often at gunpoint, to live in the less desirable areas. Although President Grant confirmed the Pyramid Lake Reservation by Executive Order of March 23, 1874, white intruders still moved onto reservation land. On January 29, 1877, J.D. Minor, the Nevada Secretary of State, sent a resolution to Congress and the President, asking that the reservation lands be reduced.[17] In 1878, the United States Marshall, under orders from the War Department, investigated the situation. He asked that the boundaries be clarified once again. He also claimed that military assistance was not needed to remove trespassers from Indian lands.[18] In 1887, Perry Powers resurveyed the out-boundaries of Pyramid Lake Reservation. He established monuments every mile along the boundary line, most of which are still in place.[19] However, even when boundaries were clearly defined and the Indian agent received military assistance, some trespassers were not evicted.

The case of John Leathers illustrates the difficulties the Numa had with trespassers. Leathers and nine other men were arrested for trespassing and trading on the reservation without a license from the Indian agent.[20] Although the men were convicted, sentencing was delayed, and several attempts were made to obtain a pardon for Leathers. The U.S. Marshall for Nevada, Judge Hillyer, who presided over the trial, and District Attorney Varian all supported a petition sent to President Hayes requesting a pardon for the trespassers. Even while he awaited sentencing, Leathers had begun to trade with the Indians again, despite the efforts of the Indian agent, who opposed any pardon for this unscrupulous character.[21]

In 1880, the Indian agent wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, stating that trespassing was still a major problem. Whites wanted the fertile agricultural lands near the Great Bend, and refused

to move even when boundary checks confirmed that this was Indian land. Often trespassers found guilty were not sentenced and were allowed to return to reservation land to repeat their crime. Difficulties continued; some trespassers who were removed from the reservations had their boats, cabins, and property burnt, confiscated, or destroyed.[22]

As more whites settled in the area, schools were established for the Numa children. A day school at the reservation operated from September 1, 1879, to December 31, 1882. A boarding school opened the following day (January 1, 1883) to take its place.[23] The boarding school, unlike the day school, took the children away from their homes, parents, and culture. Its purpose was to teach the children the language and the ways of the white man; in doing so it taught them to forget the lessons of their own people and the traditions which Numa children had learned long before white men came to Numa land. The faculty of the boarding school consisted of five persons: the superintendent, an assistant teacher, an industrial teacher, a matron and a seamstress. These people taught the children English and some mathematics, but stressed menial tasks. The girls worked in the laundry, kitchen, and sewing room, taking care of the building and making clothes for the children. The boys cared for the grounds, the livestock, and a small garden.[24]

Most of the children disliked the boarding school and ran away whenever they could. The school staff tried to return them, but older Numa often hid their children so they would not be forced back. The older Numa, who had seen that white men were treacherous, selfish, and greedy, did not want their children to learn these white ways. Nor did the parents want their children to forget the ways of the Numa. The Numa were also concerned because the children often became ill at the school and many died from diseases they contracted there.[25]

Other developments also changed reservation life. In late 1884, a sawmill was established. The Numa were promised that pine trees would be delivered to the mill on the Truckee River, but the pines never arrived, so they had to use their cottonwood trees for lumber to build houses and a barn. Cottonwood, which is too soft to make good lumber, was the only timber available to them.[26]

A strip of land near the mouth of the Truckee River, a fourth of a mile to a mile wide, forms a rich agricultural area. The strip

contains 2,500 acres on the right bank and 600 acres on the left bank. Recognizing the potential of this land, the Numa built a dam across the river and began constructing irrigation ditches. The project was frustrating, for the Numa lacked the proper tools and equipment to dig the ditches, but finally, with government aid, the ditches were completed and farming was begun. Wheat and barley were planted, but alfalfa was the chief crop.[27]

Though the *Cu Yui Ticutta* were learning to become farmers, fishing remained their main source of income. Records show that fish provided a substantial income: in 1883, 75,000 pounds of fish sold for $5,250; in 1885 and again in 1886, $5,000 worth of trout was sold; in 1888, fish brought $3,600. The *Cu Yui Ticutta* sold fish to the white men for 5 to 7 cents a pound. Although fish revenues declined in later years, fishing remained a major source of revenue for the *Cu Yui Ticutta*.[28]

Many Numa also worked for the agent, farming, digging ditches, and doing other ranch work. They were paid with food rations, which were given to the heads of families once a month. The Numa went to the farm with long gunny sacks. As the agent called their names, they collected rations which were tied in layers: flour, beans, potatoes, coffee, bacon, and sometimes pork were placed in the sacks. The size of the family determined the amount of food received.[29]

The Indian agent, "in accordance with Section # 218 of the regulations of the Indian Department, 1884," [30] hired Indian police to maintain order on the reservation. During the fiscal year 1887–8, the agent hired seven Indian officers: one captain at ten dollars a month, one sergeant at eight dollars a month, and five privates at eight dollars each a month.[31] At first, the Indian police were not allowed to carry firearms, which may explain the fact that they would not arrest whites. Often their activities were determined by the agent, who used them to stop Indian handgames [32] and return run-away children to the boarding school.[33]

The Central Pacific Railroad also affected the *Cu Yui Ticutta's* lives. By 1868, it had run through the southern tip of the reservation. The Indians objected to the railroad's incursion into their land. "Recognizing the problem, J.P. Usher, representative of the Department of the Interior, recommended that six miles be deducted from the southern portion of the reservation so that the Indians

Indian police were hired to maintain order on the reservations and carry out the Indian agent's instructions. This photograph shows Indian police at Pyramid Lake Reservation. Captain Dave or Numana is on the left. (Courtesy of Nina Smith).

would not be near the railroad and the town of the white people."[34] When the railroad established the Wadsworth station on the Pyramid Lake Reservation, many whites settled in the town and some obtained government titles to the land they occupied.[35] The Numa, whose agricultural land had been taken, were forced to live on the outskirts of the town, working for the white men to obtain money and food. The men began to work for the railroad in the roundhouse or found jobs as farm and ranch hands. The women worked as domestics in white homes. These Numa received less than a dollar a day for their services.[36]

The railroad also brought Chinese laborers to the area. After construction ended, many Chinese settled at Winnemucca Lake near the *Cu Yui Ticutta,* fishing as they had in their homeland. The Numa had no objections to sharing their land with the Chinese until the Chinese began to sell the fish to whites without the Numa's consent. Then the *Cu Yui Ticutta* chased them off the reservation.[37]

Although the Numa had objected to the railroad, it eventually provided some benefits for them. The Central Pacific Railroad had guaranteed free passage for the Numa and their produce to any destination the railroad served. The railroad considered this privi-

lege a "free ride" for the Indians, who could only ride on top of the boxcars and flatbed cars or between cars. The Numa, however, thought this service was their right, because they had allowed the railroad to pass through their land. Although Indian agents often tried to limit the "free rides," the Pyramid Lake Numa used the train to their advantage. They transported their fish for sale to the whites at about fifteen cents a pound. They also used the railroad to travel to find jobs or attend social gatherings, fandangos, or pow wows.[38]

Fandangos, the social gatherings of Indian peoples everywhere, occurred in all the areas where Indian people lived. The largest were held in towns like Wadsworth which were served by the railroad. Numa travelled by train from many areas in Nevada to Wadsworth. When the train entered the station, the Pyramid Lake Numa gathered on a walkway built over the tracks. By the time the train arrived, they had spotted their friends. The *Cu Yui Ticutt-* new who the visitors were and where they came from.[39] The Numa met to dance and sing with joy, celebrating their reunion with friends and families. The largest fandangos were held in the spring when the fish spawned at Pyramid Lake. Some Numa fished while others played handgames, talked and danced. After the women played *na-zi-sa-ka* on the banks of the Truckee River, the men played *wah-tok-coy*. Men and women all wore rabbit-skin robes during the fandangos, which lasted for weeks. As the social gathering ended, visiting families boarded the train, heading home with their fish and all that they had won in the handgames.[40]

In 1904, when the railroad moved the roundhouse from Wadsworth to Sparks, Nevada,[41] many Numa families also moved. Those who stayed found their income diminished, since the railroad had been a major source of employment. Squatting whites who remained in the Wadsworth area owned many acres of Numa land. In 1909, the Acting Secretary, Frank Pierce, echoed earlier Numa complaints: "The lands used and occupied by these trespassers are needed, the superintendent says, for the Indians. They have been driven therefrom, and in some instances, they are not permitted by the trespassers to use and occupy the lands adjoining the illegal holding of the latter." [42] The Numa, who were trying to farm, needed their lands. Those without land worked for the white farmers, breaking horses, herding cattle, and doing other ranch work.

Although the *Cu Yui Ticutta* worked for local whites and farmed their own land, they relied heavily on fishing, which was still their main source of income. The Reclamation Act, passed by the United States Congress on June 17, 1902, was to destroy this traditional Numa means of livelihood. This act allowed the government to "sell public lands and use the proceeds to reclaim and improve other, less desirable lands for the benefit of the nation's small farmers in water-short areas. The law gave the Indian's trustee and guardian, the Secretary of the Interior, authority to initiate projects." [43]

The Newlands Reclamation Project, named after Francis Griffith Newlands, who first proposed diverting water to arid land for irrigation, was the first such effort: "The area of the Carson Sink Valley was chosen for the nation's first federal reclamation project. Work began in 1903 on a canal over thirty miles long to the Carson River for irrigation use on the Project." [44] The Lahontan dam, completed in 1915, held back the water diverted from the Truckee River to the Carson River.[45]

As the water was diverted from the Truckee River, water levels at Pyramid Lake and its sister lake, Winnemucca Lake, began to drop. At Winnemucca Lake, which had been a haven for game and waterfowl until the 1930's, the only water source—run-off from Pyramid Lake—was eliminated. Many *Cu Yui Ticutta* remember plentiful ducks flying over the sand dunes on the west side of Winnemucca Lake. The ducks, abundant enough to darken the sky, flew so near to the ground that the Numa could knock them down with long sticks. Shots could be heard into the night as the Numa harvested the birds.[46] By the late 1930's, however, Winnemucca Lake was all but dead. The trout were making their last spawning runs up the Truckee River. Derby Dam killed Winnemucca Lake and its waterfowl. Since the dam allowed only a small amount of water for irrigation on the Pyramid Lake Reservation, it nearly destroyed the Pyramid Lake fishery. Numa could no longer harvest abundant fish from the river bank; to catch the scarce fish, they had to use boats. "On May 20, 1943, at the hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives, pertaining to Senate Bill 24, the chairman of the Pyramid Lake Tribal Council was asked if the Indians could fish for a living, and he answered negatively, because the Pyramid Lake fish had been practically exterminated." [47]

These senior citizens, who live on the Pyramid Lake Reservation, can remember when trout and cu yui *swam up the Truckee River to spawn. Later, they saw Winnemucca Lake die when water was diverted to Lahontan Reservoir. Left to right: Nina Smith, Sarah Moore, Gussie Williams, Lena Wright, Katy Frazier, Mabel Paulina, and Paul Wright. (A Norman Rambeau photograph, courtesy of the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada History Project).*

The fish, which had long been the *Cu Yui Ticutta's* primary source of food and income, were gone.

Advantages from the project were not so great as had been hoped: "The Newlands Project was intended to provide water for approximately 350,000 acres. But few if any miracles came out of the project." [48] To date only 63,000 acres have been irrigated, and water rights have been issued for 73,000 acres. Farmers did not know what to do with the extra water which flooded the Fallon area. Often 6 inches to a foot of water lay in the desert area surrounding Fallon. While some of this extra water enhanced the wildlife refuge at Stillwater, which has become a prominent nesting ground for wildfowl in Western Nevada, the cost of this refuge was high: Winnemucca Lake is dead and the Pyramid Lake fishery almost destroyed.

The Pyramid Lake Numa hope that the fishery will be restored. In the 1940's construction began on a fish ladder to allow the fish to travel up the river to spawn. The project was halted by World War II; during the war, a sudden flood washed out all that had been constructed. The Washoe Act, passed in 1956, contained one sentence which restored the peoples' hopes, stating that fisheries at

Pyramid Lake will be restored. This simple sentence led to the construction of a seven million dollar dam, which will have three fish ladders to help the fish spawn. The dam, begun in 1973, is now completed.[19]

Now, if the white people upstream stop the wasteful practices of the past sixty years and begin to use the water wisely, the fishery will be restored. Then, the great red salmon trout will once again fill the Truckee River from bank to bank on their spring spawning runs and the *Cu Yui Ticutta* will realize the promise of their reservation.

Reno - Sparks

In the beginning, Washo people lived in the Truckee Meadows and the surrounding areas: their territory extended south to the Carson City area, north to Honey Lake and west to Truckee, California. Many lived in the area between Reno and Truckee. The Washo shared the eastern part of this area with the Numa; no distinct boundary separated the two peoples.

The white settlers who followed trappers, explorers, and emigrants to this area brought many changes to its Indian people. White farmers and ranchers erected fences, creating artificial boundaries in the land and forcing many Indians out of the rich valleys. Many Indians found work on the invaders' ranches—the men as farmhands, the women as domestics—and made their homes on the farms where they worked.

Even though many moved to the ranches, it was not uncommon to see Washo *tahah* (houses) constructed from natural materials along the Truckee River where the Washo fished.[1] As one elderly man remembered, "those were the warmest houses there ever were. They were built so close and tight, the wind could never come through."[2] As the Washo moved to the ranches, they preserved the traditional pattern of the *tahah*. Sometimes, however, they used canvas, boards, and other new materials to build them.

When the Central Pacific Railroad was built, many Indians moved near to the towns along it to find work. In the late 1800's many Numa lived and worked in Wadsworth, where the roundhouse was located. In the roundhouse, railroad cars were turned around on a platform, which could be moved by men or horses. In 1904, when the Central Pacific Railroad Company moved the roundhouse to Sparks, many Numa followed their jobs, building their *kahnees* along a ditch beside the railroad tracks.[3] By the turn of the century, many Indians—both Numa and Washo—lived in the Reno-Sparks area.[4] Each year, more moved there to find jobs. Both peoples maintained their traditional ways, building homes in the traditional styles from modern materials like lumber and canvas.

Kahnees *built at the turn of the century incorporated many new materials. Modern materials, like tin and canvas, were more readily available than traditional ones. (Courtesy of the Nevada Historical Society).*

Reno, which was centrally located, grew rapidly. As city boundaries expanded, whites saw the Indians as obstacles. Often whites ordered the Numa to move when the land they lived on was needed for some other purpose. According to white man's law, the Indians neither owned the land nor had any rights. When the white men demanded Indian land, the Indians were forced to pack up their families and move to a vacant spot, where they would be left alone until another white man wanted that land. At one time, the Indians occupied lands which included the present site of the University of Nevada Reno campus, the Idlewild Park area, the land near the present sites of Manogue High School and Vaughan Mill, and several areas along the Truckee River and in the hills north of the valley.[5]

Whites referred to the Indians as "homeless," not realizing that the Indians merely had a different concept of land use and ownership than that established in European tradition. They also discriminated against the Indians in other ways. City ordinance forbad Indians from being seen on the streets after dark. Indians were not allowed to eat in the restaurants; if they wanted to buy food, they went to the back entrance of the restaurant and obtained a pan of leftovers for a quarter or so.[6] The Indians would clean

out an old coffee can, buy the scraps from the resturant, spread newspaper on the street behind the restaurant and eat what they had been given.[7] Sometimes the Indians found jobs denied them. Dave Christy describes losing his job because of white objections:

> In 1910, I used to make shoes for the boys. I went into the shoe shop and asked if I could get a job. They said, "Where did you learn your trade?" I said, "Down in Indian school." He tell me, "You be here Monday." So I am. You know how white man work . . . take it easy, you know . . . they stand, talk, smoke. But I just keep on working, so I figure it's my job. I was working down there and about Thursday a big white man come in. He say, "What is that boy down there?" "Oh, he's Indian and he comes from Pyramid Lake." "Say, what's your pay?" "Five dollars a day." "Why he don't pay no tax." That's what the big white man say. Friday, another one come crying, "I'm paying heavy taxes to keep them on the reservation." That's what comes out of his mouth. Saturday night when I got my pay, five dollars a day, my boss said, "Well, Dave, I can't keep you anymore they don't want you anymore." They don't want me in there because they say I was a Communist.[8]

As the population grew, the Indians' problems increased and it became evident that Indian people living in the Reno-Sparks area needed a permanent homesite. In 1917, the government bought twenty acres of land from John and Ione Lewis for six thousand dollars.[9] This land, which is part of the present colony, lay between Reno and Sparks. The Indian agent, in his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, stated: "Grounds for administrative purposes were reserved in the center of the tract separating the Paiute tribe on the north from the Washoe tribe on the south."[10] Although an area for administration had been set aside, the agency had to make its headquarters at the Gazette Building in Reno. A church was built on the grounds reserved for administrative purposes. Although the church had only one room and uncovered walls, many Indians attended the services in the unfinished structure.[11]

When the Washo and Numa families moved to the colony, they bought housing materials and built their own homes. The Indian Bureau dug some irrigation ditches running north to south on both sides of the colony; the ditches broke off at various points, spreading water to the small gardens scattered through the area.[12] Although the area was considered farm land, it was not level and frequently

Susie and Ben Rowe were among the first residents of the Reno-Sparks Colony. (Courtesy of Leah Manning).

rocky, so only small patches could be cultivated.[13] The irrigation ditches also provided drinking water, which the Indians carried to their homes in buckets. Since the Indians knew that this irrigation water was not clean, they collected drinking water from a spring about a quarter of a mile from the colony when they could.[14]

Although the colony brought the Indians greater contact with the whites, the Numa tried to preserve many of their traditional ways of life. Handgames and stick games, which had always been a popular recreation for the Indians, were discouraged by the Indian agents. The matron provided games, books, and music for the Indians, hoping to discourage the traditional handgames. Lessons in cooking and sewing were given to the young girls.[15] But none of these attempts eliminated the handgames, which the old people remember well. Washo and Numa joined in the events, which provided not only competition, but social gatherings as well. One elderly Numa remembers them: "The Washo gamblers were mostly young men, and they would come over on the Paiute side of the colony to challenge the Paiute gamblers, who were mostly older women."[16] There was great rivalry between the participants. Like the white

Even when the Numa lived on colonies, traditional customs remained intact. Handgames were still significant in Numa life. (Courtesy of Katherine Johnson).

man's poker game, the handgames depended a great deal on psychological factors as well as luck and skill.

On May 10, 1926, 8.38 acres, purchased for $4,160 from a chicken farmer named Jensen, were added to the colony.[17] Soon after this strip of land was acquired, a day school was built near the intersection of Colony Road and Second Street. The school, located north of the colony, provided education for Indian children through the sixth grade.[18] The 1917 *Annual Report* had described the problems in Indian education: "In Nevada, it has only been of recent years that Indian children have been admitted to public schools at all and even now in many districts, they are not in attendance, either because of the prejudice of the community toward their enrollment, or because of the disinterestedness of the local people in their welfare."[19] Indian spokesmen realized the negative attitude of the local whites and concluded that they needed a school where their children could be educated without encountering hostility.

Problems continued to plague education. In the 1940's, when the school building needed many repairs, colony leaders asked

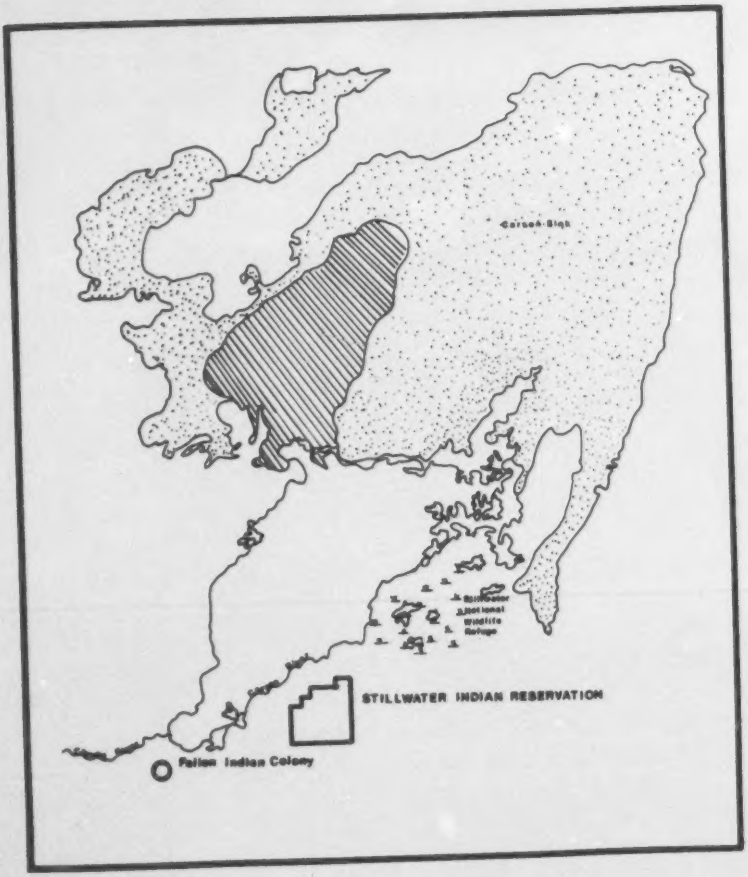
that their children be placed in public schools. The children were moved to the Southside school,[20] but discrimination continued and the children, who were made fun of by the whites, felt uneasy at the school.[21] In 1945, Mrs. Grace Warner, principal of Orvis Ring School, told the Indians that their children could attend her school. When the children came, they stayed under Mrs. Birks' care for classes, lunch, and recess until she thought they were ready to cope with the public school system. When she decided they were ready, they were placed in the regular classrooms at Orvis Ring.[22] From 1945 until 1975, the Indian children of the Reno-Sparks colony were bussed to the Orvis Ring School.

Today, although the colony itself is strictly residential, the surrounding area is becoming the industrial center of Reno and Sparks.[23] The colony formed its own government: "The colony is organized under the Indian Reorganization Act. The Constitution and By-laws, approved in 1936, provide for a six-member Reno-Sparks Indian Council. Members serve for a two year term."[24] A chairman, elected separately every two years, acts as a seventh member of the council. Working through this government, the colony residents try to provide hope for their children. They would like to acquire more land and improve their lives. Today, they are working to make those dreams a reality.

Stillwater and Fallon

The Numa who lived in the Carson Sink area called themselves *Toi Ticutta* (Tule Eaters). The name was appropriate since the tules, which were abundant in the area now known as Stillwater Marshes, provided not only food, but building materials and tools for them. The bulrushes could be prepared as food in several different ways: the roots chewed raw like celery; the heads, called *szima,* roasted; and the pollen eaten from the palm of the hand.[1] Tule shafts were used to build boats, mats, and decoys;[2] placed on the *kahnees* as siding;[3] and tied in bundles to make the boats used to collect duck eggs[4] and hunt *sy ya* in the marshes.[5] Mats used for bedding were woven from the shafts; duck decoys were stuffed with tule shafts so that they would stay afloat.[6] The tules also provided a haven for many varieties of fish and waterfowl. Migrating ducks used the marshes as a stopover. Duck eggs, considered a delicacy by the *Toi Ticutta,* and catfish were abundant.[7]

The Numa used tule boats to collect duck eggs. These boats were easy to maneuver in the marshes. (A Dorothy Nez drawing, from a photograph by Margaret Wheat).


Carson Sink
STILLWATER INDIAN RESERVATION
Fallon Indian Colony

Another small band of Numa, the *Koosi Pah Ticutta* (Muddy Water Eaters), often visited the marshes. They came from their homes, which were in the area near the present government pasture and naval base, for two reasons: to gather the plentiful fish, mudhens, ducks, and duck eggs; and to play handgames, talk, sing, and dance with their neighbors, the *Toi Ticcutta*.[8]

The Numa valued all the land on which they lived, but some areas had special significance for them. A mountain of sand, about twenty eight miles east of present-day Fallon, is one such sacred place. Legends told how it was created: Long before the Numa existed, a serpent was wounded at Walker Lake. He crawled out of the lake and headed north, leaving a trail of sand in his wake. When he reached Sand Mountain, he burrowed into it and settled in the sand. This sand still shifts when he moves beneath it. Even now, his cries sometimes fill the air. Most Numa know Sand Mountain could swallow them and would not dare climb it. Only a person protected by special powers, like the *Poo ha gum,* could safely climb the shifting dunes of the sacred mountain.[9]

The *Toi Ticutta* lived this way for many generations. The first signal of approaching change was a Spanish wagon train which passed through their territory. The *Toi Ticutta* killed the Spanish intruders and ransacked their wagons, discovering several objects they had never seen before. Puzzled by their discoveries, the Numa scattered wheat flour around the area and used Spanish coins as throwing objects, skipping them over the water like stones.[10]

Soon the *Toi Ticutta* were to become more familiar with the white man and his possessions. Europeans and Americans pushed into Numa territory; often these whites had no respect for Numa rights, land, women, and laws. Conflicts between the Numa and the white intruders led to a battle at Pyramid Lake in 1860, in which the white volunteer army suffered a major defeat.

Shortly after the Pyramid Lake War, the white soldiers established Fort Churchill about thirty miles southwest of present-day Fallon. This fort, located roughly in the center of the Walker River Reservation, Pyramid Lake Reservation, and Stillwater areas, allowed the soldiers to travel easily from one Numa group to another.[11] The white soldiers, filled with bitter memories of their defeat in the war and apparently intent only on revenge, sometimes

attacked the Numa without provocation. One such foray, which the Numa call the Churchill War, involved the *Toi Ticutta*. Although the conflict was never officially recorded, the soldiers drove the *Toi Ticutta* from the Stillwater marshes to the Carson Sink desert. The soldiers stabbed the Numa without mercy when they attempted to defend their homes. Soon after the incident, however, the *Toi Ticutta* were able to return to their marshes and foothills.[12]

The *Koosi Pah Ticutta* were permanently displaced when white farmers moved into the Lahontan Valley and seized their rich farmlands. These Numa fled to the marshes when their homes were taken, joining the neighboring *Toi Ticutta*.[13]

Since the Numa could no longer move about freely to hunt and harvest in traditional locations, a federal agency, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.), provided food for them. Instead of the abundant fish, pine nuts, and game they had once gathered, the *Toi Ticutta* lived on bacon, coffee, flour, beans, and salt rationed by the B.I.A. A wagonload of food was stored outside the tribal leader's home; when one of his people needed food, the leader issued supplies to him.[14]

One such *Toi Ticutta* leader, Captain Breckenridge, is still remembered. When he died, sometime near the end of the nineteenth century, he was buried in the Stillwater area just outside the reservation. According to tradition, a treaty he had carried in a buckskin pouch was buried with him. Neither the whites nor the *Toi Ticutta,* however, ever discovered the contents of this treaty.[15]

The provisions of the General Allotment Act set aside land for the heads of *Toi Ticutta* families. In 1890, fifty *Toi Ticutta* received 160-acre portions of fertile farmland.[16] Three to four years later, 146 additional 160-acre allotments were made, giving the *Toi Ticutta* a total of 31,360 acres.[17] Once these allotments were made, the government expected the Numa to settle on the land and become farmers, forsaking their traditional ways of life. But though the *Toi Ticutta* had land to farm, they lacked irrigation ditches and farming equipment. The Stillwater Numa began to draft a petition asking for government help. Some local whites, who wanted to use the planned irrigation ditch, sent a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs stating their support for the petition.[18]

On January 20, 1894, the petition was sent. In it the *Toi Ticutta* asked for the help they would need to build a main irrigation ditch and become self-sufficient: "We are too poor to build a ditch without help from the government. We are willing to work, but have no plows, scrapers, suitable teams or other necessary implements." The petition continued, "We respectfully petition the government of the United States to aid us in such manner as may seem best to obtain water for our lands and we will be a self-sustaining, prosperous and happy people." [19] At the end of the petition, someone signed the *Toi Ticutta's* names; each of the Indians placed his mark beside the signed name. Many of those who marked the document are remembered today:

Captain Breckenridge	Old Joe
Steve Dick	Christian Joe
Johnson	Washoe Bill
Little Bob	Jumbo Dick
Old Man Johnson	Little Pete
Jakie	John Tom
Little Bob	Mountain Frank
Jimmy Jim	Old Steve
Big Tim	Bill Hickman
Old Doctor	Joe Murphy
Little George	Johnny Tom
Nose George	Salt Bob
John John	Piute John
Fort Ball Henry	Johnny Stevens
Doctor Bob	Sam Dick
Frank Harris	Bob Breckenridge
Austin Dick	Tom Stanford
Captain Jim	Big Pete
California John	Long Legged Johnny
Fat Tim	Purtty Frank
Old Jack	Billy Springer
Johnnie Joe	Johnny Longfellow

The Special Alloting Agent also sent a letter supporting the petition, reminding the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the *Toi Ticutta,* who were willing to work on the ditch, had the support of the whites in the area.[20] Despite the fact that most people agreed with the irrigation project and most would have benefited from it, the government refused to pay attention to the *Toi Ticutta's* needs.

Later, when the government decided to construct an irrigation ditch, the *Toi Ticutta* were not told. Instead, the Indians were persuaded to give up their lands, exchanging them for a smaller area with water rights. The irrigation project was clearly intended to benefit white settlers:

> Upon the organization of the Newland Irrigation Project in 1902, it was discovered that these allotments formed the heart of the Carson division and that it would be necessary to have them opened for entry for white settlers. After several years correspondence the Indian Bureau agreed on August 15, 1906, to cancel the allotments, reserving 7¼ sections for reallotment in 10-acre tracts with a perpetual water right. Of this reserve of 4,640 acres, 3,730 acres were alloted to 369 Indians and 10 acres were reserved for school and agency purposes.[21]

During the "several years correspondence," only one third of the original 196 land-holders were persuaded to exchange their 160-acre plots for 10 acres with free water rights.[22] Apparently, the government considered this adequate approval and assumed that the other two-thirds would not object. Thus the agreement was reached, reducing the Indians' holdings to 10-acre plots. As a result, when official department approval was given on April 20, 1907, the *Toi Ticutta* owned only 4,640 acres of irrigable land.[23] The Fallon Reservation was established August 15, 1906, the same day that the agreement was concluded.[24]

In the meantime, "an irrigation system was built by the Reclamation Service (Newlands Project) in 1906." Two years later, "under the Act of April 30, 1908 (35 St. 85), the Indian Service bought a water right for all the irrigable land." Later, when the *Toi Ticutta* acquired more land, the government would pay for the necessary water.[25]

The *Toi Ticutta,* whose land holdings had been reduced, still had no equipment to farm with. By 1908, the Fallon and Stillwater area had been invaded by white farmers. Often the *Toi Ticutta* had to work for these farmers or travel to the vineyards and hop fields of California to earn money.[26] Many Numa moved near the town of Fallon to be closer to jobs, camping near the center of town. As the town expanded, the *Toi Ticutta* were forced from their campsites again and again. Finally they were pushed to the southeast

side of Fallon. In 1907, when a dam broke and flooded the town with three feet of water, everyone evacuated to higher ground. One woman remembers that a lady, returning to her tent to get her money, "had to wade in waist high, deep water." The Fallon Indians, who had moved to Rattlesnake Hill during the flood, chose to remain there after the water receded.[27]

The following year, several government projects involved the *Toi Ticutta*. In "the spring of 1908, a Day School was established ten miles east of the town of Fallon, Nevada and four miles west of the village of Stillwater."[28] At the day school, which was provided because Indian children were not allowed to attend the white public schools, boys were taught practical lessons on the school farm while girls learned sewing and cooking. The school also loaned seed and equipment to *Toi Ticutta* farmers. When the crops, mainly wheat, barley, potatoes, and alfalfa, were harvested, the farmers returned the seed they had been loaned. The government also built about thirty small one-room homes, which cost about fifty dollars each, on some of the allotments.[29]

Numa made camps at Rattlesnake Hill so that they could be close to their work. Eventually this site became the Fallon Colony. (Courtesy of the Nevada Historical Society).

When a smallpox epidemic broke out in the Fallon area in 1910, white men immediately blamed the Indians. The earth, which had provided all the *Toi Ticutta* needed, seemed filthy and unclean to the whites. They assumed that smallpox and other diseases would thrive in Indian dwellings. But though the white men placed the colony under quarantine,[30] they themselves had introduced the disease and many of them died in this epidemic.

The same year, the Stillwater Reservation Agency sent letters to the Nixon, Lovelock and Reno areas, offering the hundred extra spots on the reservation to Numa in these areas. Since only a few of these spots were taken by the Numa, in the 1920's they were opened to the many Shoshone people who had settled near the Stillwater area.[31]

In the following decades, the *Toi Ticutta* were given additional land. A Departmental Order on November 21, 1917, set aside an additional 840 acres, mostly irrigable, for tribally-owned farmland. The Fallon Indian Colony was established on 40 acres of this land. On March 14, 1958, a Secretarial Order added 20 acres to the colony.[32]

Departmental Order established the Fallon Colony in 1917. Twenty acres added in 1958 gave the colony a total of sixty acres. (Courtesy of the National Archives).

Today the *Toi Ticutta*, and the Shoshone who moved to the Stillwater area and often inter-married with them, form the Fallon Paiute-Shoshone Tribe. They have elected a Business Council to govern themselves: "The Fallon Business Council consists of five members elected by tribal members. They serve a term of two years, or until they are replaced. Members elect from among themselves a chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary-treasurer. The constitution and by-laws, approved in 1964, cover the duties and privileges of these members." [33] Like other Numa, they find much of their traditional way of life gone, their lands settled and developed. Now they search for ways to shape their future.

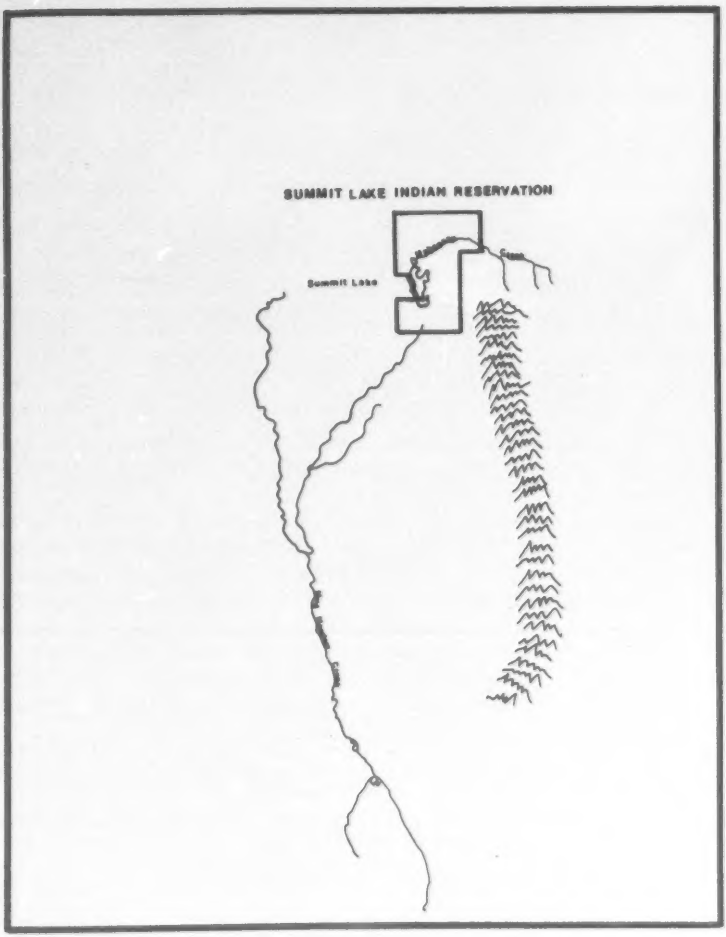
Summit Lake

The *Agai Panina Ticutta* (Trout Lake Eaters) and the *Moa Ticutta* (Wild Onion Eaters), ancestors of the people who now hold membership on the Summit Lake Reservation, once occupied approximately 2,800 square miles. The boundaries of their land began at the present Oregon-Nevada state line, ran east about 40 miles to Disaster Peak Mountain and extended southeast about 8 miles to the center of the Black Rock Desert.[1] In the midst of their territory was Summit Lake, a beautiful, high mountain, fresh-water lake. Other Numa and Shoshone bands lived north, south and east of the lake.

The *Taibo* came to conquer Summit Lake as they had come to other Numa lands. On November 23, 1865, a military post was established at Summit Springs, "for the purpose of protecting the Idaho mail road from Chico through Susanville, California–Pueblo City, Oregon to the Owyhee River settlements of Oregon."[2] Two years later, H.C. McClure and seven others wrote to Colonel Brackett at Camp McGarry, complaining that the mail carrier was overdue and requesting military assistance. The letter closed:

> Parties have just come in from Trout Creek who state that he did not arrive at Trout Creek and there is a strong probability that he has been waylaid and killed by Indians. The signs of Indians prowling around this camp are greatly on the increase, and unless we can have immediate and efficient assurance of protection we shall be under the necessity of evacuating this place as we are not in sufficient force at present to protect ourselves. Hoping that you may find it convenient to afford us such protection as we need, we are Rspty Yours. . . .[3]

Letters from Camp McGarry reflect the army's policy during this period: white invaders requested and received military protection as they conquered Indian lands. Military camps and forts, established to protect white settlements, used as much force as was necessary to keep the native people in check. The *Taibo* did not hesitate to murder or exterminate groups of Indians who stood in their path.


SUMMIT LAKE INDIAN RESERVATION
Summit Lake

On September 9, 1867, Camp McGarry was declared a military reservation by Executive Order. Containing seventy five square miles, it was the largest military reservation in Nevada. Four years later, in 1871, the Army relinquished the post and "turned it over to the Interior Department for use as an Indian Reservation for Paiute and Shoshone Indians." [4] Today, however, only Paiute tribal descendants belong to this reservation.[5]

In the decades following the military abandonment of Camp McGarry, little government action involved the Summit Lake Numa. In 1891 and 1892, some Summit Lake residents applied to the government. They asked that the land they resided on be alloted to them under the provisions of the Allotment Act of February 8, 1887. Following their request, Indian Agent C.C. Warner of Wadsworth, Nevada, wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, asking that "some steps be taken at once to have their applications properly accomplished and placed on record." In his letter, Warner enclosed the following list of "Pah-Ute Indians" who had made application for lands:[6]

1. James Beebe, widower
2. Ta-Ham, wife and four children
3. Old Joe (Que-en-a-homide), wife and four children
4. Summit Lake John, wife and three children
5. Dick Miller, wife and four children
6. Skeeter Jim, wife and two children
7. Summit Lake Sam, wife and one child

Land was set aside for the reservation by Executive Order on January 14, 1913. The land at Summit Lake was good, as Special Indian agent C.H. Ashbury reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs the same year, but "it is a long way from any market, and in a very sparsely settled country, where there is very little demand for labor." [7] In the following years, its remoteness colored its history.

In 1920, seven years after the reservation was established, Superintendent Swayne tried to open a school for the Summit Lake children. Inspector Endicott, however, opposed the plan, arguing that it would only cause unnecessary expense for the government. Endicott, who defeated the proposal, stated that most school age children attended the school at Fort Bidwell. He also claimed that

"on account of climatic conditions, nearly all the Indians located there leave Summit lake, usually in September, to find better climate and to gain employment," not returning "until the date of the fish run in April or May."[8] The Bureau of Indian Affairs preferred to send the Summit Lake Reservation children to the B.I.A. boarding school at Carson City, Nevada. This boarding school, like others established for Indian children, tried to assimilate the Indians by teaching them the habits, ways, and values of European culture. To achieve this goal, following the official policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the United States government, Numa children at boarding schools were taught English and forbidden to speak their native language.

In recent years the tribe, whose life had been disrupted by white invaders, has begun to reorganize and function as an entity once again. In 1965, the tribe adopted a constitution and by-laws which provided for a tribal council of five members elected for three year terms.[9] This council, which meets regularly, handles tribal business matters.

One important asset belonging to the Summit Lake tribe is its fishery. Because the lake is isolated and the people have preserved it in its natural state, Summit Lake is the only place in the country where Lahontan cutthroat trout still spawn naturally. To use this resource, the tribe made an agreement with the Bureau of Sport Fisheries, which purchases eggs from Summit Lake. In return, the tribe receives fishery management and fish to stock the lake.[10] In recent years, the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe has also purchased eggs from the Summit Lake tribe to stock its fish hatchery. The Summit Lake people do not want to strain the lake's resources; fishing on the reservation is closed to all except enrolled tribal members.

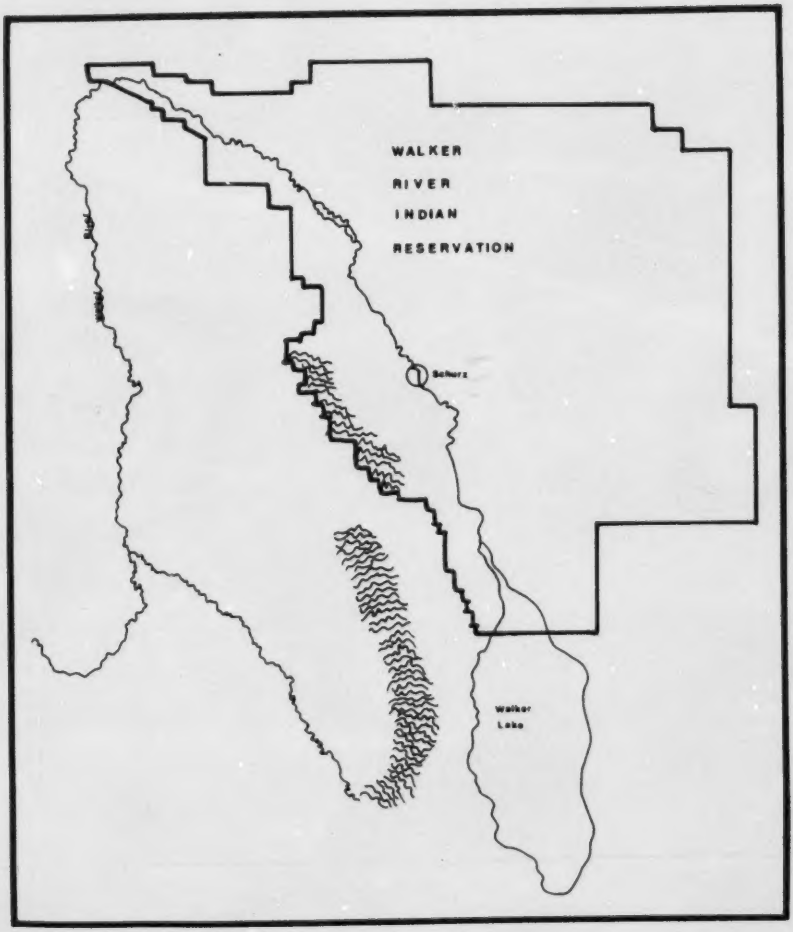
Largely because the lake is so remote, the approximately one hundred tribal members enrolled today live away from the reservation. No highways cross it or pass nearby; the nearest public transportation system is located over one hundred miles from the reservation. Lack of adequate housing, schools, jobs, and other community facilities prevents many tribal members from living on their reservation at this time.[11]

Walker River

Two different Numa groups shared the region surrounding *Agai Pah* (Trout Lake or Walker Lake). Both groups took their names from foods they ate. The *Agai Ticutta* (Trout Eaters) inhabited the north end of the lake; the *Pugwi Ticutta* (Fish Eaters) roamed the area south of the lake.[1] In 1844, John Charles Fremont renamed both *Agai Pah* and *Agai Hoop'a* (Trout River),[2] which provided water and fish for the Numa, to honor Joseph Walker.[3]

From time immemorial, the Numa who lived around the lake followed a seasonal cycle, collecting foods which kept them alive through the long winters. In the spring, usually during April and May, they gathered along the banks and at the mouth of the river to catch cutthroat trout travelling up the river to spawn. When summer came, the people lived in the valleys around the lake, gathering seeds, collecting berries, and hunting game. In the fall, the Numa travelled to mountain camps to harvest pine nuts. The *Agai Ticutta* and the *Pugwi Ticutta* often gathered the nuts in the Mt. Grant area and other parts of the Wassuk Mountain Range. If there were not enough pine nuts in this area, the Numa moved east to Reese River and the area near Gabbs or west to the Pine Grove Mountain Range and Pine Nut Mountains.[4] Until the white men arrived, the Numa prospered in this way of life.

Trappers and explorers, including Peter Skene Ogden (1829), Joseph Walker (1830's), and John Charles Fremont (1840's), were the first intruders in the area. They were followed by goldseekers, who passed through Numa land on their way to California and later established mining camps in Numa territory at Virginia City, Aurora, and Austin. These miners, and the farmers and ranchers who came after them, caused many problems when they settled on Numa land. The farmers' dams often prevented the trout from spawning or threatened their offspring. Fish runs, which had always been part of Numa memory, disappeared.[5] Not only fish, but other natural resources, including timber, pine nuts, and game, were depleted by the intruders.


WALKER
RIVER
INDIAN
RESERVATION
Schurz
Walker
Lake

This Numa used a spear to fish for agai. *(An E.S. Curtis photograph, courtesy of the Library of Congress).*

The whites also brought strange and fatal illnesses to the Numa, who had no defenses against diseases like measles, cholera, and typhoid fever. Many Numa died from these diseases. The illnesses also disrupted their normal pattern of life: "Between the months of August and October, 1867, it was reported that between seventy five and one hundred Indians died; the causes of death were listed as ague, bilous, and typhoid fevers. So many Paiutes were afflicted by illness that they were unable to go to the mountains for fall gathering of pinenuts, but rather were forced to go to Virginia City to do light work to earn money for their winter's keep."[6]

These hardships led to conflicts between the Numa and the intruders. In 1865, two miners panning ore on the reservation were killed by angry tribal members. Soldiers from Fort Churchill were sent to punish the offenders, but rather than arresting those who had committed the act, the troops rounded up 150 Numa and marched them to the fort. Though these people were later released and the guilty individuals captured, such treatment of the Numa did little to improve relations between the two peoples.[7]

Conflicts over land which had been set aside for Numa use increased as more whites moved into the area. The Walker River Indian Reservation had its beginning in the General Land Office Order of December 8, 1859, which designated land for Indian purposes. After a survey conducted in December 1864 by Eugene Monroe, the Reservation was formally established by the Executive Order of March 19, 1874.[8] Later, opinions presented by the U.S. Attorney General (July 7, 1891) and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (1939) held that the 1859 Order had legally established the reservation.[9] The survey placed all of Walker Lake and certain lands adjacent to Walker River within reservation boundaries.

As more settlers came to the area, many arguments were advanced to convince the Numa to abandon this land. A campaign in the Walker Lake Bulletin described the progress that could occur if the Indians relinquished their claims: "If the reservation were opened to the whites, it would bring great wealth to this state. Whites could operate the fisheries better than the Indian people. Great mines would be found in the mountains surrounding Walker Lake. Farmers would cultivate the fine lands at the north end of the reservation."[10] The most organized effort, however, came from officials of the Carson and Colorado Railroad Company, who wanted to obtain a vital right-of-way through reservation lands without compensating the Numa.[11]

The discussions about right-of-way began on April 13, 1880, at a special council meeting held at the reservation and conducted by Captain Wasson. Those present agreed:

> That in consideration of the sum of seven hundred and fifty (750) dollars in coin to be paid into the hands of the U.S. Indian Agent acting in behalf of said Indians by D.O. Mills and his associates, together with the privilege of free transportation of the persons, fish, game, etc. of said Indians [Walker River Indians] over said railroad [Carson and Colorado Railroad], said Indians grant forever unto the said D.O. Mills and associates a right of way over and across the Walker River Reservation for a line of railroad in accordance with a survey now being made by D.O. Mills and associates.[12]

Soon after this agreement, the company began to construct the railroad line. A second agreement, made on August 24, 1882, added several requirements to the original contract:

> And the said Carson and Colorado Railroad Company, agrees that it will at all times hereafter, so long as the right of way and lands, the use and occupancy whereof is hereby granted, shall be included within the boundaries of the Walker River Reservation, furnish the Indians resident thereon, with free transportation for themselves, their fish, game and products, to and from all points on the road operated by said company; also that it will at all times hereafter, during the continuance of the Walker River Reservation, for Indian purposes, transport all government supplies, destined for the Walker River Agency, to an extent not exceeding 2,000 pounds in each year, over said road, free of charge to the United States.[13]

The railroad company was also required to pay damages if it destroyed any reservation livestock. To make sure that the provisions of the agreement were faithfully observed, the company had to post a twenty thousand dollar bond.[14] But this agreement was never ratified by Congress as law required [15] and the Numa soon confronted the railroad officials' reluctance to fulfill its provisions.

H. M. Yerington, the railroad president, led the Carson and Colorado Company's attempts to displace the Indians. Though the agreement granted free transportation to the Indians, railroad officials considered the Numa a nuisance and tried to prohibit them from travelling for pleasure or without a definite destination. Indian Agents and company officials tried to limit such travel on the grounds that the Numa were susceptible to injury.[16] The Indians were not allowed to ride in the cars; the only places provided for them were on top of box cars, on flat cars, and between the cars.[17]

The company also refused to haul Numa fish and farm produce to market. Only "products intended for their own use and consumption" were defined as "produce" by the officials, who claimed that if the railroad transported Numa goods to market without a charge, they would be discriminating against the white farmers of Mason Valley and would be subject to a two thousand dollar fine for each offense.[18] The company only complied with the terms of the contract after the government threatened to sue against the railroad's bond.[19]

In 1892, William Stewart, who was both a United States Senator and the acting attorney of the Carson and Colorado,[20] initiated legislation designed to move the Walker River Numa to the Pyramid Lake Reservation and abandon the Walker River Reservation. Need-

less to say, this bill had the support of the railroad. The following year the Committee on Indian Affairs reported favorably on a bill to abandon the Walker River Reservation and reduce the Pyramid Lake Reservation.[21]

But among the Numa, who would have had to approve any such move, reaction was strongly unfavorable. Numa opposition led Charles C. Painter to write the Board of Indian Commissioners, informing them that the Indians did not agree with Stewart's bill.[22] This letter led to further investigations, conducted by I. S. Wooten, Albert K. Smiley and others. Indian Agent Wooten summarized the situation in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

> The Indians of both reserves are unanimous in their opposition to the propositions contained in the bill and it would require the strong arm of the government to force them to change their opinions. Moreover, even if the Indians were willing to give their voluntary approval to the provisions of the bill, I would deem it my bonded duty to enter a protest against it for the reason that it would be an unfair, unjust, unwarranted and uncalled for piece of legislation, enacted solely in the interests of a few wealthy stockmen, mining men, and the Carson and Colorado Railroad Company, as against the best interests of the Pah-Ute Indians. . . . The Pah-Ute Indians are law abiding, industrious, and progressive, and entitled to fair treatment at the hands of the Government as against the grasping greed of a few of the citizens (of this state) who are at present trespassers on their rights.[23]

Faced with such strong opposition, the bill was defeated, but William Stewart and others continued to push for abandonment.[24]

In 1902, Stewart attached an amendment to an Interior Appropriations Bill.[25] The amendment provided for the allotment of reservation land. Each family head then living on the reservation would receive twenty acres of irrigable land. The remaining irrigable land would be alloted to other Indians on the reservation at the Secretary's discretion. No recipient would obtain more than twenty acres. The head of each family would also receive three hundred dollars.[26] This Act, which passed May 27, 1902, was supplemented by the Joint Resolution of June 19, 1902, which directed the Secretary to set aside additional lands for grazing purposes, timber resources, and other community uses. Government estimates would be used

to decide which lands would be set aside.[27] When the allotments had been made, all land not reserved or alloted would be opened for settlement and disposed of in accordance with existing laws.[28]

W.E. Casson, sent to the area as a Special Allotting Agent, determined eligibility and apportioned the land. On July 20, 1906, the Numa signed an agreement relinquishing those portions of the reservation not set aside under the two acts of allocation. Four days later Casson completed the allotment and the Numa accepted the land. This cleared the way for official opening of the land.[29] On September 9, 1906, Presidential Proclamation reduced the Walker River Indian Reservation to 85,760 acres; eliminated Numa title to Walker Lake and much of the surrounding land; and opened those areas to settlement.[30] The Numa, however, did not receive payment until the following year. Then, family heads were given $25 in cash and $275 in supplies like wagons, plows, harnesses, and lumber.[31]

Before the land was officially opened, many problems developed. Rumors spread that the area contained rich mineral ores. The *Lyon County Times* predicted that "not only the Reservation section, but the entire Mason Valley district is going to boom."[32] Spurred by such predictions, whites rushed into and around the lands which were to be opened. Though government officials in charge of the reservation were supposed to prevent trespass and early claims, many used their positions to secure claims for themselves, their friends, and their families before the lands were opened.[33]

Sam Davis, called in to investigate the controversy caused by such irregular procedures, recommended several changes. He asked that the resignations of J.R. Meskimmons (Superintendent of Irrigation) and W.E. Casson (Special Alloting Agent) be accepted. He also requested that disapproving letters be sent to C.H. Ashbury (Superintendent of the Indian School), R.A. Lovegrove (Farmer in Charge), S.W. Pugh (Day School Teacher), and Dr. H.W. Cox (Agency Physician). He recommended that each of these men be transferred to some other field at the first possible opening.[34] But in spite of the fact that Davis' report, newspaper stories, and other accounts criticized the reservation opening as mismanaged and fraudulent, the Secretary of the Interior did not nullify it. According to the federal government, these irregularities did not justify declaring the opening void.[35]

Officials at the Walker River Agency, which opened in 1909, intervened frequently in the Numa's lives. (Courtesy of the National Archives).

The 1906 opening reduced the reservation to a fourth of its original size. In later years, however, the Numa began to regain their territory. The Act of March 3, 1928, an Executive Order of February 6, 1934, and the Act of June 22, 1936, increased the land base of the reservation to approximately 323,000 acres, close to its 1859 area (320,000 acres).[36]

Conflicts over land and water also affected Numa farmers. The Numa began farming in Campbell Valley, an area in the northwest section of the reservation. The valley was probably named after Frank Campbell, the first local Indian Agent. Most farming centered around "Reservation House," which had been built in 1860 and served as the reservation headquarters.[37] When the agency site was moved to Schurz in the 1870's, farming in the Campbell Valley was eventually abandoned and efforts were concentrated at the new agency.[38]

Successful farming required water from Walker River. Until the late 1930's, the Numa had continual problems with irrigation. In the spring, run-off water often washed out dams which had been built to divert water to the fields. In the summer growing months, too little, rather than too much, water created problems. Crops

were often lost because sufficient water did not reach the fields. In a letter to the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, G.E.E. Linquist summarized the problems: "During the discussion, it developed that the water and land situation was acute. For a number of years there has been a shortage in the water supply resulting in crop failures. Furthermore, the crops did not mature. The Indians lost stock and humans as well as animals got sick from the bad water. The need is not only for an adjudication of the water rights, but the building of an additional reservoir." As Linquist noted, while a bill had been introduced December 8, 1931, proposing the construction of a reservoir on the Walker River, no further action had been taken.[39]

Two sites, Weber and Rio Vista, were studied as possible locations for the reservoir. Finally the Weber site was chosen and construction began on September 21, 1933. Although in 1935 only the spillway gates were unfinished, the project was not completed until June 1937.[40] Because some Numa lands were to be flooded, the federal government purchased 1,024 acres at $3 an acre, providing a storage area for the dammed water.[41]

Legal action was also taken to insure an ample water supply for the Walker River Reservation. An injunction in 1924 was intended to secure water for the reservation land, but no decision was reached until 1936.[42] The federal district court, in the case *United States vs. Walker River Irrigation District,* decided in favor of the Irrigation District and white pioneers, saying "that to dispossess them now would bring ruin to long established settlers and return to waste the lands which they had reclaimed from the desert." [43] This decision was appealed and, on June 22, 1936, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the ruling of the lower court, holding "that there was an implied reservation of water to the extent reasonably necessary to supply the needs of the Indians." [44]

The appellate court also specified the quantities of water to be supplied to the reservation. Though the "United States" argued for 150 acre-feet of water per second, hoping to provide for the future needs of the Numa, the court granted only 26.25 second feet, a figure based on previous use and immediate needs:

> The United States to be entitled to the continuous flow of 26.25 cubic feet of water per second to be diverted from Walker River

> upon the above Walker River Indian Reservation during the irrigation season of one hundred and eighty days for the irrigation of two thousand one hundred acres of land on the reservation, and the flow of water reasonably necessary for domestic and stock water purposes and for power purposes to the extent now used by the government, during the non-irrigation season, with a priority of November 29, 1859.[45]

This decision solved the immediate water difficulties at the reservation, but did not provide for future needs.

Legal action has provided some answers for the Walker River Numa's problems, but too often the courts offer only belated and partial restitution. The traditional Numa life has been changed, made difficult if not impossible by white civilization. Today the Walker River Numa are trying both to recover their past and to carve a future for themselves.

The different reservations and colonies shared a common heritage, common problems, and similar experiences. Working in these groups and together as a people, the Numa have found some solutions. Two frequent problems, land and water rights, have been and are being contested in the courts. On the reservations and colonies, the Numa deal with other difficulties of modern life. In 1860, the Numa took up arms to obtain redress. Today the people look to courts, schools, industry, and agriculture to provide a better life for their children, preserve their traditions, regain their land, and realize their hopes for the future.

Footnotes

NUMA (THE PEOPLE)

[1] Interview with a Northern Paiute who wished to remain anonymous. Stillwater Reservation, Nevada, October 31, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 77); also interview with Ione Allen, Northern Paiute, Stillwater Reservation, Nevada, October 31, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 78).

[2] Ione Allen, File # 78.

[3] Anonymous informant, File # 77.

[4] Interview with Louise Rowe, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, November 12, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 79)

[5] Anonymous informant, File # 77; also Ione Allen, File # 78.

[6] English speakers have translated *Poo ha gum* into their language as "Indian Doctor," "Medicine Man," and even "Witch Doctor." None of these convey the full meaning of the Numa word: a person gifted with special powers to help the people. The *Poo ha gum*, who could be either a man or a woman, was a central figure in both medical and religious practices.

[7] Interview with Mamie John, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, March 16, 1974, interviewer Dorothy Nez (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape # 48).

[8] Interview with Henry Greeley, Northern Paiute–Shoshone, Schurz, Nevada, February 21, 1975, interviewers R.J. Eben and Chester Smith, Sr. (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 73).

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Edward C. Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History* (Schurz, Nevada: The Walker River Paiute Tribe, 1975), p. 93.

[12] Henry Greeley, File # 73.

[13] Interview with Carl Tobey, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, September 13, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 47).

[14] Henry Greeley, File # 73.

[15] Carl Tobey, File # 47.

[16] Johnson, pp. 94–5.

[17] Louise Rowe, File # 79.

[18] Margaret Wheat, *Survival Arts of the Primitive Paiutes* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1967), p. 114.

[19] Ione Allen, File # 78.

[20] *Ibid.*; also Louise Rowe, File # 79.

[21] Interview with Leah Manning, Northern Paiute, Owyhee, Nevada, January 8, 1976, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 83).

[22] Carl Tobey, File # 47.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Louise Rowe, File # 79.

[25] Johnson, p. 95.

[26] Carl Tobey, File # 47.

[27] Interview with Lulu Jim, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, October 10, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 50).

[28] Carl Tobey, File # 47.

[29] Anonymous informant, File # 77.

[30] Louise Rowe, File # 79.

[31] Interview with Katy Frazier, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, October 10, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 80).

[32] Interview with Auburn Rhodes, Northern Paiute, Lovelock, Nevada, December 20, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 76).

[33] Louise Rowe, File # 79.

[34] Carl Tobey, File # 47.

[35] Anonymous informant, File # 77.

[36] Wheat, p. 14.

[37] Louise Rowe, File # 79.

[38] Interview with Stressler O'Daye, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, September 6, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 81).

[39] Lulu Jim, File # 50.

[40] Interview with Harry Winnemucca, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, October 11, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape # 27); also Katy Frazier, File # 80.

[41] *Ibid.*; also Carl Tobey, File # 47.

[42] Louise Rowe, File # 79.

[43] Stressler O'Daye, File # 81.

TAIBO (THE WHITE MAN)

[1] Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), p. 210.

[2] Peter Skene Ogden, *Snake Country Journals, 1827–29*, ed. Glyndwyr Williams (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971), p. 105.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

[9] Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West*, ed. Edgeley W. Todd (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 284.

[10] Zenas Leonard, *Adventures of Zenas Leonard, Fur Trader*, ed. John C. Ewers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p. 72.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[13] Irving, p. 296.

[14] John Charles Fremont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842* (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, Printers, 1845), p. 212.

[15] Interview with Dave Christy, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, August 16, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape # 13).

[16] Fremont, p. 219.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Edward M. Kern, "Journal of an Exploration of Mary's or Humboldt River, Carson Lake, and Owens River and Lake, in 1845," Appendix Q, in *Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah in 1859*, Captain J.H. Simpson (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1876), p. 480.

[19] Letter from J.H. Holeman to Brigham Young, September 25, 1852, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1852*, S.S. 658, pp. 439–45.

[20] Letter from J.H. Holeman to Brigham Young, September 30, 1853, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1853*, S.S. 710, p. 447.

[21] Letter from F. Dodge, Indian Agent, to Jacob Forney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory, January 4, 1859, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1859*, S.S. 1023, pp. 373–4.

[22] Russell Elliot, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), p. 384.

THE PYRAMID LAKE WAR OF 1860

[1] Interview with Dave Christy, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, August 29, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape # 14).

[2] Interview with Katy Frazier, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, September 18, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 80).

[3] Interview with Harry Winnemucca, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, October 11, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape # 27).

[4] Ferol Egan, *Sand in a Whirlwind* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972), p. 78.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Myron Angel, ed., *Reproduction of Thompson and West's History of Nevada* (1881; rpt. Berkeley: Howell-North, 1958), p. 151.

[8] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Paiutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*, (1883; rpt. Bishop, California: Chalfant Press, Inc., 1969), p. 70.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Angel, p. 152.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Egan, p. 100.

[14] Angel, p. 152.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[18] Harry Winnemucca, File and Tape # 27.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Dave Christy, File and Tape # 14.

[22] Interview with Harry Winnemucca, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, September 11, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape # 26).

[23] Dave Christy, File and Tape # 14.

[24] Angel, p. 157.

[25] Harry Winnemucca, File and Tape # 26; also Dave Christy, File and Tape # 14.

[26] Harry Winnemucca, File and Tape # 26.

[27] Angel, p. 158.

[28] Harry Winnemucca, File and Tape # 27.

[29] Interview with Carl Tobey, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, August 23, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 79).

[30] Harry Winnemucca, File and Tape # 27.

[31] Interview with Louise Rowe, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, March 3, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben(Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 79).

[32] Harry Winnemucca, File and Tape # 26.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] Harry Winnemucca, File and Tape # 27.

[38] Interview with Dave Maw-Wee, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, interviewer unknown, tape translated by Katy Frazier and Gussie Williams (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 10).

[39] Harry Winnemucca, File and Tape # 27. Overton Natchez was a controversial figure. Many Numa believe he lied to the Indians for his own gain. See *Life Stories of Our Native People: Shoshone, Paiute, Washo* (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1974), p. 28.

[40] Interview with Dave Christy, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, August 16, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape # 13).

[41] Interview with Lulu Jim, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, March 23, 1974, interviewer Dorothy Nez (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape # 50).

[42] Dave Christy, File and Tape # 14.

[43] Lulu Jim, File and Tape # 50.

[44] Interview with Nellie Emm, Northern Paiute, Yerington, Nevada, June 28, 1975, interviewer Randy Emm (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape # 71).

[45] Colonel George Ruhlen, "Early Nevada Forts," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 3, Nos. 3–4, p. 18.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[47] Egan, p. 248.

[48] Nellie Emm, File and Tape # 71.

[49] Ruhlen, p. 22.

[50] *Life Stories of Our Native People*, p. 43.

[51] Dave Christy, File and Tape # 14.

[52] Hopkins, p. 105.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 105–22.

[54] Dave Christy, File and Tape # 14.

[55] "The First Cease Fire," *Announcements*, Native American Rights Fund and the National Indian Law Library, 1, No. 6 (November-December 1972), p. 4.

LOVELOCK

[1] Interview with Aleck Jack, Northern Paiute, Lovelock, Nevada, October 4, 1975, interviewer Terry Donahue (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 74).

[2] Interview with Bessie Chico, Sadie George, Auburn Rhodes, and Elsie Davidson, Northern Paiutes, Lovelock, Nevada, March 14, 1974, interviewers Inter-Tribal Council History Staff (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, Tape # 72).

[3] *Ibid.*; also interview with Stanley Wasson, Northern Paiute, Lovelock, Nevada, August 27, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 75).

[4] Aleck Jack, File # 74.

[5] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Paiutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (1883; rpt. Bishop, California: Chalfant Press, Inc., 1969), p. 74.

[6] Interview with Auburn Rhodes, Northern Paiute, Lovelock, Nevada, December 20, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 76).

[7] Interview with Ione Allen, Northern Paiute, Stillwater Reservation, Nevada, October 31, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 77).

[8] Auburn Rhodes, File # 76.

[9] Interview with Harry Winnemucca, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, October 11, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape # 27).

[10] Omer C. Stewart, "The Northern Paiute Bands," *Anthropological Records*, 2, No. 3. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), p. 139.

[11] Harry Winnemucca, File and Tape # 27.

[12] Auburn Rhodes, File # 76.

[13] Letter from D.J. Phelps, Southern Pacific Transportation Company, Public Relations Department, to R.J. Eben, September 10, 1975 (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, Incoming Correspondence File, 1975).

[14] Auburn Rhodes, File # 76.

[15] Lalla Scott, *Karnee: A Paiute Narrative* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), pp. 83–4, 90, 93–8.

[16] Letter from Superintendent Jose A. Zuni, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Stewart, Nevada, to Stanley Wasson, Tribal Chairman of Lovelock Colony, May 8, 1968 (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Realty Department, File # Lovelock 308).

[17] Letter from Charles H. Allender, Superintendent, Lovelock Indian School, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 11, 1910. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[18] Letter from C.F. Hanks, Chief Clerk, to Charles H. Allender, Superintendent, Lovelock Indian School, April 25, 1910. RG 75, Letters Sent, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[19] Jose A. Zuni to Stanley Wasson, May 25, 1968.

[20] Letter from G.A. Trotter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 12, 1925. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[21] Letter from Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent, Bureau of Indian Affairs, to Roy Moffley (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Realty Department, File # Lovelock 308).

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Interview with Glenn Wasson, Northern Paiute, Lovelock, Nevada, Tribal Chairman, September 5, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 92).

[24] "The Establishment of Reservations and Colonies and Various Information on Indians in Nevada" (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Realty Department, 1975), p. 48.

MC DERMITT

[1] Interview with Ethel Cavanaugh, Northern Paiute-Shoshone, McDermitt, Nevada, February 3, 1975, interviewer Cordell Hardin (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 58).

[2] Interview with Betty Crutcher, Northern Paiute, McDermitt, Nevada, December 19, 1975, interviewer Terry Donahue (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 87).

[3] Omer C. Stewart, "The Northern Paiute Bands," *Anthropological Records*, 2, No. 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), p. 136. Stewart's spelling has been changed to reflect Indian pronunciation; in his work *tuviwa ga u* was spelled *tuviwari*, *yamosopu* was *yamosopo*, *Udsusuda* was *tsoso*, and *Qui na tau Pha Numa* was *Kwinaduwa*. Information for these changes comes from an interview with Ethel Cavanaugh, Northern Paiute-Shoshone, McDermitt, Nevada, January 9, 1976, interviewer Randy Emm (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 58).

[4] George Ruhlen, "Early Nevada Forts," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 3, Nos. 3–4, (1964), pp. 36–43.

[5] Letter from George B. Sanford to the Adjutant General, August 9, 1881. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[6] Interview with Ethel Cavanaugh, Northern Paiute-Shoshone, and Ross Hardin, Northern Paiute, McDermitt, Nevada, February 3, 1975, interviewer Cordell Hardin (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #58). Pah ve-zo was Ethel Cavanaugh's great-grandfather and Jack Harding's grandfather.

[7] Ethel Cavanaugh, File #58.

[8] Letter from Sanford to the Adjutant General, August 9, 1881.

[9] Letter from R.H. Milroy, Indian Agent, to H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 13, 1882. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington D.C.

[10] Letter from James Wilbur, Indian Agent, to H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 10, 1882. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[11] Letter from Milroy to Price, June 13, 1882.

[12] "General and Historical Data on Fort McDermitt" (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Nevada Agency, Land Operations, File #341.0–5).

[13] Letter from Michael Piggot, Special Allotting Agent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 26, 1882. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[14] Letter from H.F. Ross, Custodian and Farmer of Fort McDermitt Reservation, to the Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, December 14, 1893. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[15] Letter from Wm. E. Casson to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 7, 1904. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[16] "General and Historical Data on Fort McDermitt," File #341.0–5.

[17] "The Establishment of Reservations and Colonies and Various Information of Indians in Nevada" (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Nevada Agency, 1975), p. 37.

[18] "General and Historical Data on Fort McDermitt," File #341.0–5.

[19] "The Establishment of Reservations and Colonies and Various Information of Indians in Nevada," p. 38.

[20] *Ibid.*

MASON AND SMITH VALLEYS

[1] Interview with Nellie Emm, Northern Paiute, Campbell Ranch, Yerington, Nevada, June 28, 1975, interviewer Randy Emm (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #71). The closest English translation for both *Tobusi Ticutta* and *Poo-zi Ticutta* is "Bulb Eaters." The *Tobusi Ticutta*, who are also known as "Grass Bulb Eaters," ate a dime-sized black bulb. The *Poo-zi Ticutta's* common food was a larger bulb which was found only in the Desert Creek Area.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Earl William Kersten, Jr. "Settlements and Economic Life in the Walker River Country of Nevada and California," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1961), p. 91.

[4] Edward C. Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History* (Schurz, Nevada: The Walker River Paiute Tribe, 1975), p. 38.

[5] Nellie Emm, File #71.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Michael Hittman, "Ghost Dances, Disillusionment and Opiate Addiction: An Ethnohistory of Smith and Mason Valley Paiutess," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1973), pp. 86–7.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 123–6.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[10] Interview with Frank and Hazel Quinn, Northern Paiutes, Campbell Ranch, Yerington, Nevada, March 12, 1974, interviewer Dorothy Nez (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #29).

[11] Frank Quinn, File #29.

[12] Nellie Emm, File # 71.

[13] Grace Dangberg, "Wovoka," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 11, No. 2 (Summer 1968), p. 5.

[14] *Life Stories of Our Native People: Shoshone, Paiute, Washo* (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1974), p. 46.

[13] Dangberg, p. 7.

[16] Hazel and Frank Quinn, File #29.

[17] *Life Stories of Our Native People*, p. 47.

[18] James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," Accompanying Paper, *Fourteenth Annual Report (Part 2) of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Smithsonian Institution, 1892–3, by J.W. Powell, Director* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1896), pp. 772–3.

[19] Hazel and Frank Quinn, File #29.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Life Stories of Our Native People*, p. 47.

[22] Johnson, p. 49.

[23] Dee Brown and Martin F. Schmitt, *Fighting Indians of the West* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), p. 226.

[24] Johnson, p. 53.

[25] *Life Stories of Our Native People*, pp. 47–8.

[26] Johnson, p. 54.

[27] Dangberg, p. 27.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[30] Interview with Harry Greeley, Northern Paiute-Shoshone, Schurz, Nevada, February 21, 1975, interviewers R.J. Eben and Chester Smith, Sr. (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #73).

[31] Hittman, p. 53.

[32] "General and Historical Data of Campbell Ranch" (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Nevada Agency, Land Operations, File #341.0–1).

[33] "The Establishment of Reservations and Colonies and Various Information of Indians in Nevada" (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Nevada Agency, Realty Department, 1975), pp. 89–90.

[34] "General and Historical Data of Campbell Ranch," File #341.0–1.

[35] "The Establishment of Reservations and Colonies and Various Information of Indians in Nevada," pp. 89–90.

[36] "General and Historical Data of Campbell Ranch," File #341.0–1.

[37] "General and Historical Data of Campbell Ranch, Crop Report" (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Nevada Agency, Land Operations, File #341.0–1).

PYRAMID LAKE

[1] Interview with Mamie John, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, March 16, 1974, interviewer Dorothy Nez (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape #48).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Interview with Lulu Jim, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, March 23, 1974, interviewer Dorothy Nez (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape #50).

[4] Interview with Lulu Jim, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, August 7, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #50).

[5] Interview with Katy Frazer, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, August 9, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #80).

[6] Interview with Harry Winnemucca, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, October 11, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape #27).

[7] Interview with Carl Tobey, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, September 13, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #47).

[8] Interview with Louise Rowe, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, April 15, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #79).

[9] Interview with Nina Winnemucca, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, March 2, 1974, interviewer Dorothy Nez (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape #53).

[10] Louise Rowe, File # 79.

[11] Katy Frazier, File #80.

[12] Ruth Hermann, *The Paiutes of Pyramid Lake* (San Jose, California: Harlan–Young Press, 1972), p. 50.

[13] Letter from J.M. Edmunds, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Lauren Upson, Esqr., Surveyor-General, May 18, 1865. RG 75, Letters Sent, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[14] Letter from C.A. Bateman, Indian Agent, to the Hon. Edw. P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1874, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874*, pp. 278–80.

[15] S.F. O'Fallon, Inspector, "Special Report on Land," Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, January 19, 1910 (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Nevada Agency, Realty Department, File #150, "Investigations and Confidential Reports, Pyramid Lake Reservation"), pp. 4–5.

[16] Letter from J.M. Edmunds, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Lauren Upson, Esqr., Surveyor-General, August 19, 1865. RG 75, Letters Sent, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[17] "Joint Memorial and Resolution, relative to Pyramid Lake Reservation and the State of Nevada," sent by J.D. Minor, Secretary of State, Nevada, to the U.S. Congress and the President, January 29, 1877. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[18] Telegram from Major General McDowell to the Adjutant General, U.S.A., January 14, 1878. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[19] O'Fallon, p. 6; also "Map of the Resurveyed Boundaries of Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation in Nevada as Surveyed by Perry Powers, U.S. Dept. Surv., May 1887." RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[20] Newspaper clipping attached to letter from the Hon. E.A. Hoyt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to James N. Ely of Carlisle, Pa., June 9, 1879. RG 75, Letters Sent, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[21] Letter from James N. Ely of Carlisle, Pa., to the Hon. E.A. Hoyt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 11, 1879. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm Copy).

[22] Letter from James E. Spencer, Indian Agent, Pyramid Lake Reservation, to the Hon. E.A. Hoyt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 6, 1880. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[23] Letter from L.M. Protzman to T.J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 23, 1890, "Annual School Report." RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Letter from David Dorchester, Superintendent of Indian Schools, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 21, 1890. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[26] Harry Winnemucca, File and Tape #27.

[27] Letter from James E. Spencer, Indian Agent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1880, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1880;* Letter from Joseph M. McMaster, Indian Agent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 29, 1882, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882;* and letter from W.D.C. Gibson, Indian Agent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 20, 1885, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885.*

[28] Nellie Shaw Harnar, *The History of the Pyramid Lake Indians, 1843–1959, and Early Tribal History, 1825–34* (Sparks, Nevada: Dave's Printing and Publishing, 1974), p. 66.

[29] Interview with Paul Wright, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, October 4, 1974, interviewers R.J. Eben and Dorothy Nez (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #90).

[30] Letter from W.D.C. Gibson, Indian Agent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 1, 1887. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Carl Tobey, File #47.

[33] Letter from Dorchester to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 21, 1890.

[34] Harnar, pp. 75–6.

[35] Letter from the Acting Commissioner of Indians Affairs to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 17, 1909. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[36] Interview with Daisy Astor, Northern Paiute, Wadsworth, Nevada, March 28, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #91).

[37] Harry Winnemucca, File and Tape #27.

[38] Louise Rowe, File #79; also Harner, p. 76.

[39] Louise Rowe, File #79.

[40] Daisy Astor, File #91.

[41] O'Fallon, "Special Report on Land."

[42] Letter from Frank Pierce, Acting Secretary, to the Attorney General, August 28, 1909. RG 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[43] "A Declaration of War—The Reclamation Act," *Announcements,* Native American Rights Fund and the National Indian Law Library, 1, No. 6 (November-December 1972), p. 3.

[44] Terry J. Reynolds, "Western Nevada's Water Problems—Part One," *Nevada Public Affairs Report,* Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Nevada, Reno, 14, No. 2, p. 11.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Interview with Dave Christy, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, August 29, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape #14).

[47] Harnar, p. 69.

[48] Reynolds, p. 11.

[49] Interview with Jerry Thompson, Project Director of Pyramid Lake Indian Tribal Enterprises, Sutcliffe, Nevada, December 23, 1975, interviewers R.J. Eben and Randy Emm (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #93).

RENO – SPARKS

[1] Interview with Amy James, Washo, Reno, Nevada, July 4, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #84).

[2] Interview with John Moore, Washo, Owyhee, Nevada, February 5, 1974, interviewer Winona Holmes (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape #31).

[3] Interview with Louise Rowe, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, March 10, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #79).

[4] Interview with Katy Frazier, Northern Paiute, Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada, February 3, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #80).

[5] Speech presented by Dewey Sampson, Northern Paiute, to Soc. 372, "Ethnic Minorities and Women," University of Nevada, Reno, November 19, 1974 (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape #41).

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Interview with Ione Allen, Northern Paiute, Stillwater Reservation, Nevada, October 31, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #77).

[8] Interview with Dave Christy, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, August 16, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape #13).

[9] Letter from Harrison Soesch, Acting Secretary of the Interior, to Lawrence Astor, Tribal Chairman of Reno–Sparks Colony, July 13, 1970 (Reno, Nevada: Reno–Sparks Indian Colony, "Reno–Sparks Colony Land Status" File, p. 1).

[10] Letter from Special Indian Agent Dorrington to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1917. *Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1917*, p. 3.

[11] Interview with Lawrence Astor, Washo, Tribal Chairman of Reno–Sparks Indian Colony, Reno, Nevada, August 15, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #85).

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Louise Rowe, File #79.

[14] Lawrence Astor, File #85.

[15] Letter from Dorrington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1917, p. 5.

[16] Louise Rowe, File #79.

[17] Letter from Soesch to Astor, "Reno–Sparks Colony Status" File.

[18] Lawrence Astor, File #85.

[19] Letter from Dorrington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1917, p. 49.

[20] Telephone conversation between Mrs. Virginia Quirk, Principal of the Sierra Vista Elementary School, and R.J. Eben, January 9, 1976 (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #94).

[21] Interview with Vira Aleck, a Northern Paiute who attended the Southside School, Reno, Nevada, December 18, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #86).

[22] Conversation with Mrs. Quirk, File #94.

[23] Tom Dressler, Washo, "Development of the Reno/Sparks Indian Colony," paper for an undergraduate class, University of Nevada, Reno, April 1974, p. 1.

[24] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, n.d.), p. 324.

STILLWATER AND FALLON

[1] Interview with a Northern Paiute who wished to remain anonymous, Stillwater Reservation, Nevada, October 31, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #78); also interview with Ione Allen, Northern Paiute, Stillwater Reservation, Nevada, October 31, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #77).

[2] Anonymous informant, File #78.

[3] Interview with Dora Garcia, Northern Paiute, Wadsworth, Nevada, March 17, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #88).

[4] Anonymous informant, File #78.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Margaret Wheat, *Survival Arts of the Primitive Paiutes* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1967), pp. 40–54.

[7] Anonymous informant, File #78.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*; also Ione Allen, File #77.

[11] Interview with Dave Christy, Northern Paiute, Reno, Nevada, August 29, 1974, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File and Tape #14).

[12] Anonymous informant, File #78.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*; also *Life Stories of Our Native People: Shoshone, Paiute, Washo* (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1974), p. 5.

[16] On September 19, each of the following fifty persons received 160-acre allotments:

Teah-ah-dud-ah-wah	Sooc-oog
Tah-wah-wad-se	Wa-see-dah
At-sa-sar-upt	Wa-dah-quo-he
Nah-mah-to-guin-ah	Pah-ro-ge-oitz
Kah-wah	Wah-ras-bet-ah
Hoo-ze-ah	Te-buc-wo-no-wac
San-bah	Tu-beah
My-wah-otch	Ho-ne-bah-gah-ugh
Ah-rah-mo-e-bu-ne-de	Zah-nan-eed
Qu-me-tois	Q-go-ee-zu-qu
Pah-tah-may-ah	Wa-ede-a
Pah-me-ge-áh-de	Se-quin-erd
Wah-ki-uh	Puh-hu-de-ah-quh
Mo-zo-to-be	She-to-reich
Pi-ich-wah	Ta-be-weh-hut
Sa-guine-ah	Uug-eh-cah-neh
Zah-na-no-do	Cah-zuh-yeh-no-ugh
Ah-ra-pah-hah	Coo-each
Za-no-qua-ze	Wah-yan-no
Pah-su-te-pah	Sah-nah-no-do
Pu-i-wad-ze	Zo-num-wad
Ne-dah-bah	E-nah-dah
To-no-te-ah-bah	Ca-zi-ah-no
Kah-wah-me-qah-uh	Pah-bah-nah-cah
To-ha-co-sah	Wit-se-mi-ah

[17] "General and Historical Data on Carson Sink Allotments" (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Land Operations Department, File #341.0–4), p. 1.

[18] Letter from Charles Kasso, William Murphy, J.W. Dalton, and J.W. Richards to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 20, 1893. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[19] Letter from the Stillwater Area Paiute Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 20, 1894. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[20] Letter from B. Arntzin, Special Alloting Agent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 25, 1894. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[21] "General and Historical Data on Carson Sink Allotments," File #341.0–4, p. 1.

[22] Interview with Elwood Smith, Northern Paiute, Fallon, Nevada, January 17, 1975, interviewer R.J. Eben (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #89).

[23] "The Establishment of Reservations and Colonies and Various Information of Indians in Nevada" (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Nevada Agency, Realty Department, 1975), p. 34.

[24] "General and Historical Data on Carson Sink Allotments," File #341.0–4.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Letter from B. Arntzin to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 25, 1894.

[27] Anonymous informant, File #78.

[28] Letter from W.A. VanVoorhis, Superintendent of Fallon Indian School, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 20, 1910, *Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1910.*

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Anonymous informant, File #78; information from the informant's personal collection of letters.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] "The Establishment of Reservations and Colonies and Various Information of Indians of Nevada," p. 34.

[33] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, n.d.), p. 311.

SUMMIT LAKE

[1] Stewart, Omer C., "The Northern Paiute Bands," *Anthropological Records*, 2, No. 3 (Berkeley: University of California, 1939), pp. 135–6.

[2] Colonel George Ruhlen, "Early Nevada Forts," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, 1864–1964*, 3, Nos, 3–4 (1964), p. 44.

[3] Letter from H.C. McClure and seven others to Col. Brackett, Camp McGarry, January 4, 1867. Military Records. RG 393, Register of Letters Received and Endorsements, 1865–69. National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[4] Ruhlen, p. 45.

[5] Interview with Jim Brown, Summit Lake Paiute Tribal Member, Reno, Nevada, December 1975, interviewer Mike Kane (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #95).

[6] Letter from C.C. Warner, U.S. Indian Agent, to Hon. Thos. J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 23, 1892, Wadsworth, Nevada. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[7] Letter from C.H. Asbury, Special Indian Agent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 23, 1913, Reno, Nevada. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[8] Letter from E.B. Merritt, Assistant Commissioner, to Ford A Thompson, Superintendent, Fort McDermitt School, June 29, 1920. RG 75, Central Correspondence Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[9] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, n.d.), p. 329.

[10] *Yeasuh Lemeah Tequekah-Progress,* Vol. I, "Economic Development," (Reno, Nevada: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Economic Development Administration, 1973) p. G-13.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. G-18.

WALKER RIVER

[1] Edward C. Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History* (Schurz, Nevada: Walker River Paiute Tribe, 1975), p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[3] Myron Angel, ed. *Reproduction of Thompson and West's History of Nevada* (1881; rpt. Berkeley: Howell-North, 1958), p. 25.

[4] Johnson, p. 9. Johnson states that "the people traveled into the mountains east of the land of the Tule Eaters or to the east and southwest of Trout Lake. Sometimes it was necessary to move into the mountains west of the Grass Bulb Eaters." The authors of this book, using Johnson's directions as a base, have named the places where pine nuts were gathered.

[5] Johnson, p. 95.

[6] Michael Hittman, "Ghost Dances, Disillusionment and Opiate Addition: An Ethnohistory of Smith and Mason Valley Paiutes," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1973), p. 72; also *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1863* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1863), p. 512.

[7] Johnson, p. 37.

[8] "General and Historical Data on Walker River," (Stewart, Nevada: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Nevada Agency, Land Operations, File #341.0–14).

[9] Johnson, p. 28.

[10] *Walker Lake Bulletin*, March 28, 1883; cited in Johnson, p. 73.

[11] Johnson, p. 74.

[12] Letter from Indian Agent Wasson to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 13, 1880. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[13] Letter from H.M. Yerington to Wm. M. Stewart, March 22, 1891. RG 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[14] Johnson, p. 70.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[16] Letter from Yerington to Stewart, March 22, 1891.

[17] Johnson, p. 75.

[18] Letter from Yerington to Stewart, March 22, 1891.

[19] Telegram from T.J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to C.C. Warner, U.S. Indian Agent, October 12, 1891. RG 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[20] Johnson, p. 74.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[22] Letter from Charles C. Painter to the Board of Indian Commissioners, December 15, 1894. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[23] Letter from J. Wooten to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 11, 1896. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[24] Johnson, p. 99.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Act of May 27, 1902, "An Act making Appropriation for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and three." Public Act. No. 125, 57th Congress, Session 1, 32 (stat) 260.

[27] Joint Resolution of June 19, 1902. "Joint Resolution supplementing and modifying certain provisions of the Indian Appropriation Act for the Year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and three." Pub. Res. No. 31., 57th Congress, Session 1, 3 (stat) 744.

[28] Act of May 27, 1902, 32 (stat) 744.

[29] "General and Historical Data on Walker River," File #341.0–14.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Johnson, p. 107.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[34] Sam B. Davis, "Report of Sam B. Davis on investigation of J.R. Meskimons, W.E. Casson, and others, for alleged irregularities in connection with the opening of the Walker River Reservation," February 5, 1907. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[35] Johnson, p. 110.

[36] "General and Historical Data on Walker River," File #341.0–14.

[37] Johnson, p. 30.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[39] Letter from G.E. Lindquist to the Board of Indian Commissioners, April 27, 1933. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[40] "General and Historical Data on Walker River," File #341.0–14.

[41] Letter from Ray R. Parrett, Superintendent, Walker River Agency, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 22, 1934. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[42] Walker River Indian Agency, "Narrative Report, 1924." RG 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[43] *United States vs. Walker River Irrigation District.* Federal District Court, 14 F. Supplement 11.

[44] *United States vs. Walker River Irrigation District,* Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, June 5, 1959. Case No. 8779, 104 F. 2nd, 334–340.

[45] *Ibid.*

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